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ART. I.—1. *Gerbert oder Papst Sylvester II und sein Jahrhundert;* von Dr. C. F. Hock. *Gerbert, or Pope Sylvester II and his Age;* by Dr. C. F. Hock. Vienna, 1837. 1 vol. 8vo.

2. *Histoire du Pape Grégoire VII et de son siècle, d'après les monumens originaux;* par J. Voigt, Professeur à l'Université de Halle; *traduite de l'Allemand, augmentée d'une introduction, de notes historiques et de pièces justificatives;* par M. l'Abbé Jager, &c. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1838.

THE author of the first work on our list, M. Hock, doctor in philosophy, belongs to the Catholic school of philosophy, formed at Vienna; and is already known to the public, by a philosophical work, entitled *Descartes and his Adversaries*, in which he discusses with much discernment, the question, what advantage a new system of philosophy in our times, might derive, from the study of the doctrines of that philosopher. The second work was published as long ago as 1815;* but has been so little known out of Germany, that the French translator presents to the rest of Europe an almost new work. The Protestant author was at that time employed, in the college and university of Halle, whence he was transferred to the chair of history, which he still occupies, in the university of Königsberg, where he has published a series of works, on the history of Prussia Proper, and the Teutonic order.

We shall endeavour to embrace these two works within the limits of one article, not only because they contain the history of two popes, who lived within the same century, but chiefly because two successive epochs in the history of the papacy, are centered in Sylvester II and Gregory VII.

* Hildebrand oder Papst Gregorius der Siebente, und sein Zeitalter, aus den Quellen dargestellt von Johannes Voigt, &c. Weimar, 1815.

When the kings of the Franks had been declared by the popes, patricians of the Church and emperors of Rome, this very rank, of itself superior to that of the other princes of the west, naturally placed them in a condition to protect, not only the Roman Church against external enemies, as its most powerful opponent had fallen with the kingdom of Lombardy, but it was likewise necessary for the free exercise of the papal dignity, that the popes should live in undisturbed tranquillity at Rome. Even during the reign of Charlemagne, (799) pope Leo III had been attacked by an adverse faction of the Roman nobles, while attending a procession from the Lateran to the church of St. Lawrence in Lucina, insulted and thrown into prison, whence he with difficulty escaped to the court of the king of the Franks. Still greater troubles arose, during the reign of the weak successors of this great emperor. It is unnecessary to dwell on the disorders that took place in the last years of the reign of Leo III, or under his successors, Stephen IV, Paschal I, and Eugenius II; it will suffice to mention, that Lothaire, eldest son of the emperor Louis, was sent to Rome to restore peace and tranquillity. With the consent of the pontiff, all ecclesiastical or lay dignitaries, who had any share in the papal elections, were obliged to promise, that for the time to come, they would not allow any pope to be consecrated, save in the presence of the emperor or his ambassadors; and the pope was to promise, on his accession, to maintain the existing relations between the Roman Church and the emperors of the west, (*anno* 825). This constitution was observed in most of the succeeding elections, and although abrogated by Adrian III (884), it was renewed shortly afterwards by Stephen VI or VII (897). In this manner the emperors of the west gained a privilege, which those of the east had exercised by their exarchs at Ravenna, down to the election of Gregory III (731), when it ceased altogether.* This superintendence on the part of the new emperors, ceased in like manner with the extinction of the German branch of the Carolingian race; and the system of government was so completely undermined, that the disorders and tyrannical influence of the noble families at Rome, which, during the ninth century, had been interrupted by intervals of discipline and order, became the usual state of things during the first half of the tenth century.

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* Francisci Pagi. "Breviarium historico-chronologico-criticum illustriora Pontificum Romanorum gesta, &c. complectens." Vol. II. pp. 28, 128, 145, Ed. Venet. 1730, 4to.

Meanwhile the kingdom of Germany had taken a new form, under the kings of the house of Saxony; and king Otho the Great had already extended his frontier into the north of Italy, when he was called to Rome, by pope John XII, and crowned emperor on the second of February, 962. This measure, which the pope had adopted as one of policy, became, in the hands of Providence, the means of restoring the ancient splendour of the pontificate. Although Otho adopted measures of great violence, and although the election of Leo VIII, made under his auspices, was schismatical, and fresh disorders broke out during the reigns of his son and grandson, they had broken the tyrannical power of the Roman nobles, the liberty of the Church in its own city was secured, and for the first time after a long interval, the chair of St. Peter was worthily filled, by Gregory V (996-999), and the subject of this article, Gerbert, under the name of Sylvester II (999-1003).

Gerbert was born of poor parents, in the mountains of Auvergne, during the first part of the tenth century. The monks of the convent of Aurillac, of the order of Cluny, received the orphan at a tender age. He took the monastic vows while yet very young; and after having finished the usual course of studies in his own convent, chiefly under the scholastic doctor Raimond, he visited the most famous convents of France and the neighbouring countries, as Paris, Liege, Tours, Verdun, Treves, &c. to study under the able professors in those cities. In these ages, before the press had spread instruction and books over the most distant countries, and when even manuscripts were scarce and difficult to procure, it was more necessary than in ancient times, to visit eminent professors in their own countries. Gerbert had made himself master of the sciences taught in the convents of France; but for dialectic and the mathematics, which at that period formed the principal branches of learning, Spain enjoyed the highest reputation; and the Arabs and Jews were held superior to the rest of Europe. Gerbert repaired, about the year 967, to the court of Count Borel at Barcelona, to study these sciences. According to the account of a contemporary writer, Ademar of Chabanne, he went even to the celebrated school of Cordova, and as we are informed by Hugh of Flavigny, bishop Hacton was his instructor in mathematics.*

* Ademar Cabanens, chron. (Bouquet X. p. 146) "Gerbertus....causa sophiæ primo Franciam, dein Cordubam lustrans." Hugon Flaviniacens chron. Verdunens. (Labbé Bibl. Nov. MSS. I. p. 157, Ed Paris, 1657, fol.) (Gerbertus) "Borello, citerioris Hispaniæ duci commissus, ut in artibus erudiretur, et ab eo Hactoni cuidam Episcopo traditus est instituendus, apud quem plurimum in mathesi studuit."

About the year 972, he accompanied Count Borel to Rome, where he became known to the emperor, Otho I, the empress Adelheid, Otho II, and his empress Theophania, as well as to the most distinguished personages, lay and ecclesiastical, of the imperial court. This visit determined the future life of Gerbert. For not only did he keep up a continued connexion with the imperial court, during his residence as professor in the celebrated school at Rheims, whither he was now summoned—over which he shed new lustre; but when he attended the emperor Otho II in his Italian expedition, in 981-2, he was placed by him over the famous abbey of Bobbio, in the north of Italy, which possessed estates in every part of that country (982); this dignity soon became a source of innumerable troubles to him. Many hated him as a foreigner and a favourite of the imperial family, which was unable to give him any support, on account of its own misfortunes, the death of Otho II, and the minority of Otho III; others opposed him from motives still more personal. A large portion of the possessions of his convent had fallen, either through the rapacity of the nobles, or by the negligence of the abbots, into the hands of powerful laymen, by all of whom his endeavours to reclaim them, were most strenuously resisted. Even from John XIV little encouragement could be expected; as the pope himself, while bishop of Pavia, had distributed the property of the convent of Bobbio amongst his vassals. Persecuted or abandoned on all sides, Gerbert declared "That he had nothing left except the apostolic benediction, and his pastoral staff." His enemies would not allow him to return to Rome, or to pass the Alps to request the support of his friends in Germany. At last he left a country, where every thing conspired against his peace, and returned to his old and intimate friend, Adalberon, archbishop of Rheims, without however resigning his rights as abbot, which, on the contrary, he took every opportunity of asserting.

At Rheims, under the modest title of rector of the school, he was the most influential person of the diocese, and directed all the actions of the archbishop. He received several fiefs, and in the city itself, several churches with their revenues, were placed at his disposal.* His influence was considerable in ecclesiastical as well as in temporal affairs, a result produced in those times by the position of the clergy in general, and the archbishop of Rheims in particular as the first bishop of France. Two things are worthy of especial notice; the first

* Gerbert ep. 24, apud Duchesne Hist. Francorum Scriptores, p. 833.

is, that he secured the throne of Germany to Otho III. After the death of Otho II, at Rome (December 25, 983), quarrels arose in Germany respecting the office of guardian to the young prince; and Henry, duke of Bavaria, made an attempt to seize the crown. At the same time, Lothaire, king of France, led armies into the frontier provinces, for the purpose of reconquering the territory which he had ceded to Germany. In this crisis, Gerbert was the centre of the party attached to the lawful sovereign. He laboured, by letters, to strengthen the archbishops of Mayence and Cologne, and other German barons, in their fidelity to the royal house, and offered them Rheims as a place of refuge in case of defeat. He succeeded in gaining over the duke Hugh Capet, with his wife and sister, to the interest of the young king. We see in the letters written by him at this period, the surprising energy and activity with which he wielded the resources, and moved at will all the springs, of his party; chiefly through his means, about the year 985, peace was at length concluded between France and Germany, without any loss to the former, and with a general acknowledgement of the justice of the claims of Otho III. The second remarkable circumstance is the accession of Hugh Capet to the throne of France, after the extinction of the royal branch of Carolingians, (987). He sought to secure to the new king the more powerful barons, such as Siguin, archbishop of Sens, and count Borel, of Barcelona, whom scruples prevented from taking the oath of allegiance; and wrote to the Byzantine emperors, describing in lofty terms the virtues and power of king Hugh, for whose heir-presumptive he requested a Byzantine princess in marriage. He displayed increased activity, when, six months after the coronation of Capet, Arnulphus, who was related to the Carolingian family, succeeded, on the death of Adalberon, to the archbishopric of Rheims. For the brother of Lothaire, the late king, and his real successor in virtue of descent, Charles of Lorraine, had asserted his claims to the French throne, and had commenced open hostilities against the new king. Arnulphus entered into alliance with him, and surrendered into his hands the important city of Rheims; and Gerbert, with others of the king's party, were loaded with injuries. He found means to escape from the city, wrote a solemn letter of renunciation to the archbishop, and fled to the royal court. The civil war ended in the total defeat of the Carolingian party, and all its leaders were made prisoners (991). Arnulphus was summoned before the council of Rheims, and deprived of his see,

as a perjured rebel to king Hugh, and the author of the surrender and sacking of Rheims. At the same council, Gerbert was chosen archbishop, and, with much reluctance, was prevailed upon to accept this dignity (June 991), the duties of which he discharged for some time, with his usual firmness and circumspection.

Meanwhile a letter arrived from John XIV, declaring null and void the acts of the council of Rheims, as the deprivation of Arnulphus could not take effect, without the approbation of the holy see. A question had before been raised in the council itself, respecting the legality of its proceedings on this head, and the friends of Gerbert, unable to prove their validity, advised him to end the dispute, by resigning his bishoprick. Vain were his endeavours to convince them, that the condemnation pronounced by the pope, would fall not only upon himself, but upon all who had assisted at the council; in other letters, he openly questioned the power of the pope to pronounce any such judgment upon a synod of bishops. He implores them to retain their ancient affection and friendship for him, and tells them that his enemies had spread false reports against him, while all France could testify that Arnulphus had not been imprisoned, accused or deprived at his seeking. The same sentiments are repeated in his letter to the pope. But although he retained his see for some time longer, his partizans gradually fell away from him, the ecclesiastics and vassals of his church deserted him, and no one would assist him during the celebration of the divine office.*

These troubles continued until the autumn of 994, when king Otho, then in his fifteenth year, with whom Gerbert had always corresponded, sending him verses and other trifles suited to his years, invited him to his court as his director and master. Although the empress Theophania, of the imperial family of Byzantium, died in 991, the young king had not yet lost his early prepossessions in favour of the system of manners and education she had introduced, which was so much opposed to the rude and fierce manners of the Germans. His letter begins thus: "To Gerbert, the most learned of philosophers, and crowned in the three branches of philosophy, Otho wishes every happiness that he can wish for himself." He goes on to express his anxious desire of attaching to his person a guide of such rare endowments, whose learning had always met with his respect; wherefore, he requests him to correct by his writings and instruction, and by the exercise of his wonted

* Gerbert, ep. 159; Duchesne, p. 836.

prudence, a king, whose education had been defective, and to serve him as his faithful counsellor in public affairs. "We wish you," he continues, "to destroy our Saxon rusticity, and bring out any traces of Grecian elegance that may be in us; for, if we had some one to undertake this task, he would find us not without some sparks of the application of the Greeks. Join, therefore, the flame of your culture to the spark we possess; we humbly beseech you to teach us the science of numbers, and to enkindle in us the lively genius of the Greeks." In his answer, Gerbert expresses his willingness to serve his Majesty, bestows many encomiums on him, and declares that for all he possesses, he is indebted to the king, his father and grandfather.* He repaired at once to the king in Germany, and accompanied him in all his wars, never relaxing in his application to mathematical studies and dialectic, in which he gave lessons to his royal pupil.

To settle the differences about the see of Rheims, the pope had sent Leo, abbot of St. Boniface's at Rome, across the Alps, to examine the points in dispute at Mouson, in company with several lords, lay and ecclesiastical, of France and Germany, who were not interested in favour of either party. Gerbert attended the council, and defended himself in an account of the life he had led during the whole period of his stay at Rheims, of the conduct of Arnulphus, and of the manner in which he had been raised to the episcopal chair. It was resolved that a new synod should be held at Rheims, and in the meantime, Gerbert, by the legate's injunction, was forbidden to perform any ecclesiastical function.† The synod of Rheims, it appears, was prevented from assembling by political disorders, and the cause remained undecided: Gerbert did not resign his dignity, but continued his attendance on the king.

In 996, he accompanied Otho during his expedition into Italy, and John XIV dying during the course of it, the king, by the consent of the clergy and people of Rome, nominated his kinsman Bruno to the vacant see. He took the name of Gregory V, and one of his first acts was to place the imperial crown on the head of Otho. Gerbert remained in Italy, probably at Rome, after the emperor's return into Germany. In 997, Otho returned to Rome, to punish the rebellion of Cres-

* Gerbert, ep. 153-4, ap. Duchesne, p. 821.

† The acts of this council may be seen in "Labbé Collect. Conc." ed. Venet. xi. p. 1007.

centius, who had expelled the pope from the city. Gerbert was then at Rome, and when the archbishoprick of Ravenna became vacant by the retirement of the archbishop into solitude, he was installed by the pope as his successor in the see, which, with that of Milan, ranked second after that of St. Peter. Gerbert introduced many useful reforms in his diocese, and presided in the name of the pope, who suffered from bad health, at several synods in the north of Italy. Before the end of two years from the time of Gerbert's election to the see of Ravenna, Gregory V died in February 999, and at the recommendation of the emperor, he was chosen his successor,* under the name of Sylvester II.

The encyclical letter of the new pope to his brother bishops contains the most earnest admonitions.† He declares that he does not feel within his own breast any ambition to pre-eminence over them, when he undertakes to excite his brethren in the episcopacy, nor does he consider himself perfect, when he exhorts them to a life of perfection, but, on the contrary, he considers all that he is about to say as addressed to himself. The dignity of the episcopacy is great, instituted by Christ himself, communicated by Almighty God, superior to the power of princes, because kings themselves bow their heads before priests, and seek to have their laws and decrees confirmed by their blessing. Such dignity requires that its possessor should pursue a line of conduct worthy of it, and the fall of those who are placed on high, is most of all others dangerous and fearful. He then traces, chiefly after St. Paul, the qualities which a bishop ought to possess, and declaims in strong terms against simony, a vice which, even in his days, infected a great portion of the Church.

His character derives additional lustre from his conduct towards his former opponent Arnulphus, who had returned to his see during the pontificate of Gregory, but was not fully reinstated before the present period. "It is meet," he says, "that the holy see should not only reprove sinners, but should likewise raise up the fallen and restore honours to such as have been deprived thereof; that the power of loosing given to St.

* The initial letter of the name of this see was the third R in the series of bishopricks filled by Gerbert, who is said to have played on this circumstance in the well-known line

"Scandit ab R, Gerbertus in R, post papa viget R."

† See "Sermo Gerberti Philosophi Papæ urbis Romæ, qui cognominatus est Silvester, de informatione episcoporum," ap. Mabillon analect. p. 103, fol. Paris 1723, which is an encyclical instruction in the form of a discourse.

Peter, may be freely displayed, and the glory of Rome may shine in all places. Wherefore, we have judged it fitting to assist thee, Arnulphus, archbishop of Rheims, who hast been deprived of thy see for certain faults, in such manner that thou mayest be reinstated by the mercy of Rome, forasmuch as thy deprivation wanted the papal consent. We restore, therefore, to thee, by this letter, the ring and staff, and allow thee to exercise the dignity of archbishop. And farther, we command that no one shall presume to reproach thee in any synod or any other place with the fault of thy deprivation, or to use any injurious language whatever in thy regard."*

During his pontificate, we have fewer eminent actions to recount than in the reigns of succeeding popes. He had no powerful adversaries to contend against; and, as no important events took place during his reign, it passed over without confusion or disturbance. He watched carefully over the purity of doctrine; and when Wilgard, a scholastic doctor at Ravenna, carried away by too passionate a study of antiquity, inclined to the errors of Gentilism, he summoned him before his tribunal. The possessions of several churches and convents were increased or confirmed by him; moreover, the Catholic religion gained a new territory, precisely in the very year, when, at the end of the first millennium of the Christian era, the alarming belief was everywhere spread, that the end of the world was at hand. A part of Prussia and of Poland renounced idolatry, and in the year 1000, the first archiepiscopal see was erected at Gnesen. At the same time, Stephen, the holy king of Hungary, was baptized, with the greater part of his subjects, and received from the pope the crown and insignia of a prince,—to the possession of which he joined the power of a king, and the activity of an apostle. From this time, dates the title of "*apostolic majesty*," which the kings of Hungary still bear.

Sylvester kept up all his former relations of amity with the emperor, and gave him every assistance in his power during the troubles which disturbed the peace of the empire, both at Rome and in its neighbourhood. Thus, when Otho had laid siege to the city of Tivoli, the pope entered it in company with the bishop Bernward, of Wildesheim, and with his assistance, succeeded in bringing over the inhabitants to obedience to the emperor, whose forgiveness he obtained for them. At a later period, Otho was forced to fly from the perjured

* Gerbert, ep. 55; Duchesne, p. 843; Hock, p. 132.

Romans, whom he had loaded with favours. While he was preparing an army to attack the rebels, he fell sick, and was attended by the pope at his death, which took place at Paterno, near Cività Castellana, January 1002. It does not appear that Gerbert exercised any influence over the course of events after the death of the emperor. We do not find him at least mentioned as taking any part in these transactions; he appears to have discharged the ordinary duties of the government of the Church down to the time of his death, on the 2d of May, 1003. His body was interred in the portico of the ancient Lateran basilica; and as late as the year 1648, when the tomb was opened, the body and papal vestments were found entire, but they fell to dust as soon as the air was admitted. When the church was afterwards restored by Innocent X, the ashes were removed into it, and buried near the third pillar of the first side-aisle on the right, where they still repose, with the ancient inscription above them.

So far we have recorded only the political and ecclesiastical life of Gerbert, and it remains for us to mention the qualities on which his literary and scientific reputation rests, and they have entitled him to rank amongst the first men of learning in the middle ages. Philosophy and the mathematics formed the groundwork of his learning; he had devoted his youth to the study of them, and he returned to them amid the troublesome and important actions of after-life. When forced to quit Bobbio, he wrote to his former abbot Geraldo; "We have yielded to misfortune, and have taken up anew the studies which have ever remained in our heart, although they have been interrupted for a time." (*Ep.* 16.) In philosophy he followed, like all his contemporaries, the Aristotelian system, as explained by Porphyry and Boecius, and adopted that system of reasoning and of distinctions in his theological works, especially in his treatise on the Eucharist. In mathematics, he applied much of his attention to the theory of numbers, in which he profited by the progress which had been made in Spain in this science. He frequently quotes from the work of Joseph, a Spaniard, on the multiplication and division of numbers,* and it is highly probable, that to Gerbert we are indebted for the introduction of the Arabic numerals on this side of the Pyrenees. His writings on geometry follow the method of the Greeks and Arabs, but contain no demonstrations, and are wholly confined to practical objects. His

Gerbert, ep. 17, 25, ap. Duchesne, p. 792-3.

knowledge of astronomy is surprising. He even constructed globes, and has left us a special treatise on the manner of making them.* He took observations of the heavens by means of a hollow cane, and constructed a clock for the emperor Otho, from his observations of the polar star.† To astronomy was joined, according to the Spanish practice, the study of astrology, and in one of his letters, he requests the abbot Lupitus, of Barcelona, to send him a work on astrology, which the latter had translated.‡ He studied the works of the ancient author Manilius for the same purpose. In medicine, which was at that time in the hands of the Jews or of the monks, he followed Demosthenes for diseases of the eye, and Celsus.§ This brief sketch will be enough to show that Gerbert surpassed all his contemporaries in the physical sciences; hence arose, at a later period, the fable that he had formed an alliance with Satan; of which legend, we find the first faint traces about the end of the eleventh century; and in the middle of the twelfth, William of Malmesbury relates at full length all the circumstances connected with it.||

Besides the pursuit of natural philosophy, Gerbert devoted himself to the study of the classics, more than any other person, from the days of Cassiodorus down to the close of the thirteenth century. As in the want of books lay his principal obstacle, he exerted himself to collect a large library, and bought manuscripts, or caused them to be copied for him in every country which he visited. He wrote to the abbot Eebert of Tours: "I go on collecting books for my library with the utmost diligence; and at Rome, as in other places of Italy, Germany, and Belgium, I procure, by the aid of my friends in the provinces, copies of authors at a great expense; I request you to assist me in like manner, in your neighburhood.¶ Writing on another occasion, when in the midst of the greatest misfortunes, he says: "We possess nothing more ancient, than the wisdom of the most illustrious men, which is explained in their numerous works. Quench then our thirst in the flowing streams of Cicero. Let him divert us from

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* Gerbert, ep. 148, ap. Duchesne, p. 823; Epistola de Sphæræ constructione ap. Mabillon Analect. p. 102.

† Dethmar Merseburgens; Hock, p. 229; "In Magdeburg horologium fecit (Gerbertus) illud rectè constituens consideratâ per fistulam quâdam stellâ nautarum duce."

‡ Gerbert, ep. 24; Duchesne, p. 793. § Gerbert, ep. 15; Duchesne, p. 832.

|| Hock, p. 159.

¶ Ep. 44, Duchesne p. 799, compare ep. 130.

thereof should be closely united. This is the only means by which the concord of Christian unity, and the welfare of religion, can be preserved in the bonds of charity and peace. We, who by the permission of God, have held the reins of government for some time past, have not always respected, as we ought, the rights of the priesthood, nor rendered to it those honours to which it is entitled. Not without meaning have we received from God the sword of vengeance, but we have not always wielded it against the guilty, as justice would have required. Now that from the divine mercy, we have received a contrite heart, and have entered into ourselves, we confess our sins to you, our indulgent father, trusting in the Lord, that we are worthy to be absolved from them, by your apostolic authority. Alas! perverted and led astray by the disorders of youth, by the abuse of sovereign power and wicked counsels, we have sinned against you and against heaven, and are no longer worthy to be called your son. We have not been content with laying our hands on the property of the Church; we have even left the Church without protection, we have sold her to unworthy persons, guilty of simony, and belonging to foreign countries. As we are unable to reform the Church without your authority, we earnestly entreat you to grant to us your aid and advice on this head, as well as on every other object that may concern us.... We shall not fail to support you in every thing you shall undertake, only praying you to act indulgently towards us."

The pope, overjoyed at these sentiments, exerted himself, though without effect, to restore peace between Henry and the Saxons, and to obtain a hearing of the matters in dispute, before a diet of the empire, in the presence of his legates. The wars which ravaged Germany for several years, interrupted his negotiations with Henry for a time, and Gregory endeavoured during the interval, to reform the internal condition of the Church, by a revival of discipline and ecclesiastical institutions; which was chiefly effected by the two councils of Rome in 1074-5. He re-enacted the ancient canons respecting the celibacy of the clergy; as well on account of the superior excellence of that state, as to withdraw the clergy, freed from family ties, more than ever from the influence of the civil power, by rendering them attached to the Church alone. To secure the execution of these canons, it was ordained that the people should refuse the service of priests who had not separated from their wives. In the extirpation of simony, he advanced a step farther: as the investiture of the temporalities, by giving the ring and crosier to the candidate, had been the principal cause and occasion of it, he strictly forbad such investitures

* Henry's letter is published among those of Gregory, between No. [illegible]9 and 30, vol. i. p. 281.

for the time to come. The former canons against simony were of course reinforced in the strictest terms; and were promulgated by the legates in the different countries; and offenders were cited to appear in the pope's court at Rome. As Henry had not reformed his conduct, he was again admonished; and summoned to expel from his presence all who had been excommunicated for this crime.

The king had just vanquished the Saxons and Thuringians; victory had rendered him proud and haughty, and he kept in prison, contrary to the treaty of peace, the captured leaders, several of whom were bishops. He requested the pope to punish them by ecclesiastical penalties. But, in the meantime, the Saxons had in their turn, sent messengers to the pope, to expose to him the state of the empire, and of their country, and implore his protection. Henry had again appointed to the principal sees in a manner contrary to the canons. The pope, by the most earnest letters, endeavoured to dissuade him from these measures, requiring the liberation of the Saxon bishops, who were to appear before a synod and to be judged by the laws of reason and equity: and the dismissal of the counsellors who had been excommunicated or had been guilty of simony. If the king refused to obey, sentence of excommunication was to be pronounced against him. Henry returned a contemptuous answer. The legates summoned him about Christmas (1075), to appear on the 22nd of February, 1076, at Rome, to defend his conduct before a council to be assembled by the pope; if he failed to appear, without assigning valid reasons for such default, the sentence would be pronounced on that day. The king, annoyed by these humiliating demands, and excited to more violent irritation by the simoniacal bishops, convoked a synod at Worms, on the 24th January 1076, and caused a sentence of deprivation to be pronounced against the pope by the assembled bishops and princes. Gregory, whose principal accuser was the excommunicated cardinal, Hugh Blancus, was charged with the most frightful crimes, with having attempted to assassinate the king, and the emperor his father; with injustice, cruelty, heresy, and even necromancy. The king exhorted the Romans, by letters, to choose another pope under his auspices, and to expel their actual sovereign. A similar letter was sent, by the hands of Roland, a Lombard priest, to the bishops, who were to compose the council at Rome. Roland arrived on the very day it opened, (22nd February), but stirred up a commotion by his demand, and his life would

have been taken, had he not been rescued by the pope himself; who even ordered the letter of the king to be read. It began thus: "Henry, king, not by usurpation, but by the will of God, to Hildebrand, the false monk and pretended pope." In the course of the letter, the pope was accused, in the most insulting terms, of having mounted the papal throne by illegal means, of having committed during his reign the most gross injustice towards the clergy, and latterly against the king, and concluded in the following terms: "Since thou hast been cursed with the anathema, and condemned by the judgment of all our bishops, and of ourselves, come down. Leave the holy throne which thou hast usurped. Let the chair of St. Peter be filled by another, who will not seek to cover violence under the mantle of religion, and who will teach the wholesome doctrine of St. Peter. We, Henry, king by the grace of God, say to thee, with all our bishops, come down, come down." (ii. p. 116). The bishops present at the council, declared their willingness to shed their blood for the pope, and exhorted him to proceed against the king according to the rigour of the law. On the following day, (23rd February), Gregory pronounced, amidst the unanimous acclamations of the council, sentence of excommunication against Henry and his advisers, and deprived him of the title of king, and heaped upon his head the most awful anathemas.

The sentence of the pope spread the greatest consternation throughout Germany; many of the bishops submitted to his judgment, and were followed by most of the princes. The diets summoned by the king were attended by none; on the contrary, the princes held a diet apart, at Tribur, in October 1076, to inquire into the state of the empire. Henry advanced into the neighbourhood; and, with his usual inconstancy, passing from the most overbearing and haughty to the most pitiful and cringing conduct, professed himself ready to submit to all their demands, provided they would not strip him of his dominions. It was agreed that a grand diet should be held at Augsburg, in February of the following year, where the cause was to be carefully examined before the pope, as president and chief of the assembly. In the meanwhile, the king was to abstain from the exercise of his royal functions, and to be absolved from the sentence of excommunication within the space of a year, beginning from the day on which it had been pronounced. If the king should not observe the terms of the contract, the princes would at once proceed to the choice of another. Gregory was invited to come into

Germany: he immediately began his journey, and arrived, in the beginning of January, in the north of Italy, with the intention of crossing the Alps without delay.

The king, who had remained quiet, saw the necessity of obtaining absolution from the excommunication before the meeting of the diet of Augsburg, in order not to make his appearance as one already condemned. With this intention, he crossed, about Christmas, the Swiss Alps, in the midst of the greatest sufferings and difficulties, and passed into Italy by Mount Cenis, the other passes being in the possession of the German princes, his enemies. He performed the necessary penance, and received absolution at Canossa, almost in spite of the pope, who had been induced to yield only by the intreaties of the Countess Matilda and the Abbot Hugh of Cluny (26th of January, 1077). Henry promised to appear before the diet of Augsburg, to submit to the pope's judgment, to abstain from nearly every act of royal authority, and to drive from his court all the excommunicated counsellors. But he did not fulfil any of these conditions, and was content with the momentary success he had already obtained. The bishops of Lombardy, who had been the most opposed to the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline by Gregory, moved the king to greater irritation, and all hope of pacification was at an end, when the princes of the empire declared the king's journey to be a violation of the agreement concluded between themselves and Henry, and proclaimed Rodolph, Duke of Suabia, king in his stead. Gregory refused, for a time, to recognize the election, being unwilling to incur the reproach of partiality, after having been acknowledged as judge in the cause. He in vain endeavoured to proceed on his journey; for Henry refused to grant him a safe-conduct. Still, he was so far from wishing to condemn his adversary without a solemn hearing, that, even after his return, he declared, in the council held at Rome in 1078, to the ambassadors of the two kings, that it was his intention to send legates into Germany, to receive informations in the cause; and excommunicated none except such as should prevent the legates from performing their mission of peace and justice (vol. ii. p. 262). It was not until Henry had refused to comply with any of the preliminary requests, and had acted with the greatest cruelty towards the partizans of Rodolph and the pope, that he renewed the sentence of excommunication against him, and declared Rodolph lawful king (1080).*

* If any credit could attach to the story of the pope having sent Rodolph a

Henry had, in the meantime, obtained considerable advantages over Rodolph; the excommunicated bishops joined his party; and at the council of Brixen (25th of June, 1080), Guibert, Bishop of Ravenna, was chosen antipope, under the name of Clement III. The king, in person, entered Italy in the beginning of 1081, to dethrone Gregory, and expel him from Rome.

The pope's temporal power depended upon the Countess Matilda and the Normans. The former, who by her courage, prudence, and piety, ranked amongst the first of her sex, had ever been the most zealous partizan of Gregory, was the rallying point of his party in the north and middle of Italy, and stood by him in the midst of misfortunes and dangers. With the Normans, on the contrary, Gregory had been in continual war ever since his accession; and their leader, Robert Guiscard, had seized a portion of the possessions of the Roman Church. At the approach of Henry, the pope concluded a treaty with him, by which he relinquished to him a part of his conquests, and received him as a vassal of the Roman church (1081).

In Rome itself, a strong party amongst the nobles had formerly been attached to the king: Crescentius had, on the night of Christmas 1075, made the pope prisoner in the basilica of Sta. Maria Maggiore, but had been forced by the Roman people to set him at liberty; and the faction opposed to the pope had since that time been wholly broken and scattered. Nevertheless the inhabitants were so much liable to corruption and the influence of bribes, that their immorality had become proverbial, and the pope could place but little reliance on them.

Henry advanced to the city, and laid siege to it for several winters, retiring during the summer, on account of the malaria. At length, in 1084, he succeeded in gaining over the inhabitants by bribes, and took possession of the whole of the city, except the castle of St. Angelo. The antipope, Guibert, was enthroned in St. Peter's, and Henry received from him the imperial diadem. Gregory remained besieged in St. Angelo, and would have been obliged to surrender, if the Duke Robert Guiscard had not come to his deliverance with a powerful army. Henry did not dare to resist, and fled from the city. Guiscard entered, and ravaged a great part of it;

crown, with the inscription, "Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho," this would be the proper place for inserting it, but M. Voigt has already remarked, that it is not mentioned by the original writers (ii. p. 312).

and, after having punished the emperor's partizans, carried the pope away with him (July, 1084). Gregory spent some time in the convent of Monte Casino; after which he accompanied Robert to Salerno, where he died, on the 25th of May, 1085, exiled from his see, and surrounded by few attendants, but with the consolation of having pursued through life an object the noblest and most sublime. "*Dilexi justitiam et odi iniquitatem, propterea morior in exilio*" were his last words, and the summary of his whole life. His body was interred in the cathedral of Salerno, which he had dedicated, at the request of duke Robert, to St. Matthew, near the end of the right side aisle. The church was adorned, by the celebrated John of Procida, with a chapel, dedicated to St. Matthew, which, in the sixteenth century, was consecrated to this illustrious pontiff, who was enrolled amongst the martyrs of the Roman Church.

We have endeavoured to trace the life of Gregory VII, in connexion with the acts of his predecessors. The principles followed by every pontiff since the time of Leo IX, had been his own; but whilst the others paid more attention to individual cases, and asserted their principles respecting them, Gregory was, in a manner, identified with the ideas on which the whole of his life revolved. Gregory saw the line of conduct that he ought to pursue, from the very beginning; it was not to spring from circumstances, but was to be called into action by them. It was the great and unwavering conviction of the people of the middle ages, that the Church was the supreme institution in which every other was embraced, and to which every other interest was to yield; as, in our notions, the advantages of individuals must be subservient to the interests of the state. The pope, as head of the Church, was, therefore, by an unavoidable consequence from this principle, superior to kings and princes, who were only the representatives of the temporal interest. It must be confessed, that this principle was not at all times *explicitly* acknowledged; nevertheless, many passages in the history of the popes during the earlier period of the middle ages, as, for instance, the dethronement of Childeric, and the re-establishment of the western empire, prove that the idea of it existed in the minds of men. The manner in which this idea was developed and called into action by Gregory, in individual instances, is not to be judged by the famous *dictatus papæ*, inserted between the fifty-fifth and fifty-sixth letter of the second book of his epistles, which Pagi has sufficiently proved to be apocryphal,

in his annotations on Baronius (ann. 1077-8), but solely by his letters, in which all the circumstances of the particular cases are detailed. From them, M. Voigt traces the system of his life in the following terms:—

"The Church of God should be independent of every temporal power; the altar is reserved to him alone, who, by uninterrupted succession descends from St. Peter; the sword of the prince is subject to, and is derived from him, because it is of this world; the altar, the see of St. Peter, depends upon God, and proceeds from Him alone. The Church is, at the present moment, in sin, because she is not free; because she is linked to this world, and to worldly men; her ministers are not legitimate, because they have been raised up by the men of the world, and exist in their present position solely by their aid. Wherefore, in the anointed of Christ, the guardians of the Church, criminal desires and passions are found; they seek only for earthly things, because, being connected with the world, they stand in need of them: hence, they who ought to dwell in the peace of God, are subject to dissension, hatred, pride, avarice, and envy; hence, the Church is in a state of imperfection, because, they who ought to serve her, busy themselves with things of earth; because, being subject to the emperor, they do nothing but what is pleasing to him; because, serving the state and the prince, they neglect the Church......Thus, the Church ought to be free; she ought to become free by means of her chief—of the first man in Christendom,—the pope. The pope holds the place of God, because he governs his kingdom upon earth......As the things of the world are moved by the emperor, in like manner the things of God are moved by the pope. It is then the duty of the latter to strike off the ministers of the altar, the bonds that rivet them to the temporal power......Religion cannot exist without the Church, and the Church is not without possessions, which secure her existence. The spirit is nourished in the body by earthly things, as the Church maintains herself by means of temporal possessions. It is the duty of the emperor, who holds the sovereign power in his hands, to enable her to obtain and preserve these possessions......If the Church and the empire must subsist, the priesthood and royalty must be closely united, and must labour in unison for the peace of the world. The world is enlightened by two luminaries, one of which is larger, the sun,—the other smaller, the moon. The apostolic authority is like to the sun, the royal power to the moon. As the moon gives not light, save from the sun; emperors, kings, and princes, come from the pope, because he comes from God. Wherefore, the power of the see of Rome exceeds that of princes, and the king is subject to the pope, and owes him obedience......By Peter, the Roman Church exists, in whom dwells the power of loosing; on Peter, the Church of Christ is founded. She is the mother of all the Churches of Christendom; all owe obedience to her, as daughters to

their mother. The Roman Church is the guardian of the other Churches; she can require honour, respect, and obedience, from them. As mother, she commands them all, with all the members belonging to them: such are emperors, kings, princes, archbishops, bishops, abbots, and the rest of the faithful. By virtue of her power, she can install or depose them. They owe, therefore, humble obedience to the Church; and when they abandon themselves to ways of wickedness, this holy mother is bound to stay them, and to place them in a better path; otherwise, she would share in their crimes. But, whoever places his trust in this tender mother, whoever loves her, follows her counsel, and protects her; receives from her protection and generous favour. Whatever resistance he, who holds the place of Jesus Christ on earth, may meet with, he must struggle, stand fast, and suffer, after the example of Jesus Christ. The world is full of scandal—our age is an age of iron; over the whole extent of the globe, the Church is reduced and straitened; her servants are sinners; they must be converted, and must amend their lives. From the chief, reform and regeneration must proceed; he must declare war against sin, extirpate vice, and lay the foundation-stone of the peace of the world: he must hold forth a strong hand to all those who are persecuted for justice and virtue. The Church must be independent; all who belong to her must be pure and blameless. To accomplish this great work, is the duty of the pope."—vol. i. p. 251.

We have already seen in what manner Gregory laboured to effect this liberty of the Church, which he made the sole object of his whole life, by forbidding the marriage of the clergy, and the investiture to ecclesiastical dignities by laymen, in order to stop that fruitful source of simony. The power of supreme judge, which belonged to the papal dignity, was exercised by Gregory not only with regard to the Germanic empire and the two rivals, Henry and Rodolph, but, moreover, the holy see became the refuge of all who were oppressed by injustice, and was considered as the tribunal of God upon earth; or, to use the vulgar and not very religious expression of our times, it represented the force of public opinion in our own age with regard to justice and equity. Who could put a stop, in that iron age, to the injustices of princes and people, save the Church? We see that Gregory discharged this duty in every country of Christendom with equal prudence and circumspection. In Spain he asserted his ancient right of vassalage, he supported the wars against the infidels, and struggled to maintain the purity of doctrine, and its conformity with that of the Roman Church.*

* Gregor. epist. I. 64, vii. 6.

The king of England, William the Conqueror, had received considerable succours from Gregory, while deacon of the Roman Church, in his expedition against England; and their amicable relations continued after Gregory had ascended the papal chair; and he glories in the fact, that William was the only prince who had not been guilty of simony, and had obliged others to abandon this vice. On this account, the pope was more indulgent to the king when he infringed on the jurisdiction of the Church, by preventing the free intercourse of his bishops with the see of Rome.* His relations with France were of a much less favourable kind; not only because the ecclesiastics of that country had been guilty of simony, but because the king had unlawfully divorced his own and taken the wife of another. Frequent intercourse was maintained with the princes of Poland, Russia, Hungary, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Dalmatia, &c., whom Gregory sought to confirm in a life of virtue and concord with the holy see. Whenever he observed faults in their conduct, he hastened to correct them. It was usual, for instance, in Denmark, according to the heathen custom, to persecute priests and old women, as guilty of sorcery, when the country suffered from drought or excessive rain. Gregory severely reprehended this custom,† which was revived after the reformation in most of the countries of Europe. When the duke of Poland had carried off a considerable sum of money belonging to the prince of Russia, the pope at once interfered, and exhorted him to restore it.‡ By other decrees it may be seen that the pope was considerably in advance of his age, whose vices he endeavoured to correct. By a barbarous custom, of immemorial antiquity, shipwrecked persons were plundered by the people of the coast on which they had been cast. Gregory proscribes this atrocious custom in the most severe terms in the council of 1078.§ On another occasion, when the duke of Dalmatia received the crown from him, Gregory imposed on him the condition that he should not again suffer in his kingdom the sale of men.‖ He entertained serious thoughts about expelling unbelievers, and freeing the Holy Land. On this account, notwithstanding the schism of the Church of Constantinople, he exhorts the faithful of the west to succour that city; yet he had so entirely won the respect of even the followers of the prophet, that the

* Gregor. ep. i. 70, vi. 30, vii. 1, 23; ix. 5. † Greg. ep. vii. 21.
‡ Greg. ep. ii. 73. § Voigt. ii. p. 265, *note*. ‖ Baronius an. 1076.

prince of Mauritania requested him to consecrate a bishop for his dominions, and released his Christian slaves from bondage.*

The personal character of Gregory was undemished; not a single man of probity, amongst his very enemies, ever ventured to lay any serious crimes to his charge, and no importance is attached to the calumnies spread by men of abandoned character, such as Benzon, bishop of Alba, and others. His leading qualities were irrepressible energy of soul and invincible courage, which yielded to no obstacle, and despaired not of fulfilling its obligations in spite of difficulties and misfortunes. To the gifts of nature he added an unshaken confidence in God, strengthened by frequent prayer, for Gregory was not more fortunate, in the ordinary sense of the word, than the generality of those whom Providence has called to perform extraordinary actions; and there are moments in the life of such persons, when the weight of their duty, compared with the difficulties in which they are placed, overpowers them; while the difficulties are increased by their deeper penetration and sagacity, which enable them to see more clearly the dangers by which they are surrounded. It is the tribute which the most exalted natures pay to the common lot of humanity, and is deeply interesting to the human heart. We are going to cite an example or two in illustration of our remark, from the letters of Gregory, which will serve, at the same time, to show that his soul was full of tenderness and feeling.

In the second year of his pontificate, after his recovery from illness, he wrote to the countesses Beatrix and Matilda, "With respect to our recovery, we have more cause of sorrow than of joy, for our soul longs, with the most ardent desire, to see that country, where God weighs our pains and sorrows, and gives repose and peace to the weary. But, being reserved for other troubles and cares of our station, we suffer unceasingly the pains and throes of a mother, since we are unable to save the Church, which is perishing almost before our eyes; for the law and religion of Christ have been everywhere violated to such an extent, that the Saracens and the pagans are more constant in their faith than those who bear the name of Christ." † And a few months afterwards, upon receiving the news of the Greek schism, he wrote to the abbot Hugh, of Cluny, "I have often prayed my Saviour to

* Greg. ep. i. 49; ii. 37; iii. 21. † Gregor. ii. ep. 9

take me out of this life, or to procure; by my means, some advantage to our common mother, the Church, yet he has not delivered me from great temptations, nor has my life been profitable to our mother, whose bonds still link me to her. For an exceeding sorrow and a universal sadness have come upon me, because the eastern Church, seduced by the devil, has abandoned the Catholic faith. On the other hand, looking at the western countries from north to south, we find not bishops who have received their dignity in a lawful manner, and who lead the life prescribed by the canons, who guide the faithful for the love of Christ, and not for worldly ambition; and amongst the princes, I know not one who prefers the honour of God to his own, or justice to his own advantage. They amongst whom I live, the Romans, Lombards, and Normans, are worse than the Jews and Pagans, as I have often, with reproaches, told them. If I did not hope for a better life, and that I could be of use to the Church, I would not remain at Rome, where, God is my witness, I have lived against my will for twenty years. Thus it is, that between these sorrows, which increase daily, and hope too long deferred, I am beaten about by a thousand storms, and live, as it were, at the point of death.*

The energy of soul which we trace in his character, appears still more strongly, when we compare him with his contemporaries who struggled for the same glorious cause. St. Peter Damian furnishes a striking instance. He was, however, one of the most distinguished men of that period; a zealous champion of ecclesiastical discipline, especially against the heresy of simony; the best writer of the time; well versed in the holy Scripture, the fathers and classical authors; but, wanting in that unshaken courage which was the leading feature in the pontiff's character, he chose rather to serve God in retirement, than to fight for the holy cause, amid the troubles of the world. Gregory, particularly while archdeacon, kept him in the world, and overcame, with the mastery of a superior mind, the scruples of his friend; on many occasions, not without a certain degree of violence, for which the virtuous St. Peter revenged himself in pleasantries and witty sarcasms. Thus, when Hildebrand blamed him for a letter which he had written to Hannon, bishop of Cologne, St. Peter replied, "For the rest, I humbly beseech my saintly Satan, not to be so angry with me, nor to allow his commendable pride to lash

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* Gregor. epis. ii. 49.

me with so many stripes."* Elsewhere, he calls him *virga Assur*, and on many occasions, *meus sanctus Satanus*.† Some of his epigrams on the same subject are well-known; as for instance,

> "Vivere vis Romæ, clarâ depromito voce
> Plus Domino papæ quam Domno pareo papæ." *Epig.* 149.

meaning, that he would rather obey Gregory, the master of the pope, than the pope himself. He speaks in the same manner in another epigram, (No. 195), and in another, (No. 150), he beseeches God, who quells the fury of tigers and lions, to change Hildebrand, who had acted as a wolf towards him, into a meek lamb. Many of the pope's adversaries amongst modern authors, such as Mr. Waddington, in his *Church History*,‡ have taken advantage of these passages, without paying attention to others, in which St. Peter solemnly pronounces the high opinion he entertained of Gregory. He addresses him, "Inexpugnabilibus Romanæ ecclesiæ clypeis, domino suo Hildebrando," and "domino Hildebrando sanctissimi et piissimi consilii viro;" and he everywhere speaks of him with the highest respect and reverence.§

It was in the nature of things, that the energy and firm consistency with which Gregory acted throughout, should often seem too rigorously severe, and that the execution of his plans should at times occasion violence and disorders amongst the people. But no important change in the world has ever

* "De cætero sanctum Satanum meum humiliter obsecro ut non adversum me tantopere sæviat nec ejus veneranda superbia tam longis me verberibus atteiat." S. Pet. Damiani epist. i. 16.

† "Sed adhuc fortasse blandus ille tyrannus, qui mihi Neronianâ semper pietate condoluit, qui me colaphizando demulsit, qui me certè aquilino, ut ita loquar, ungue palpavit, hanc querulus erumpet in vocem: Ecce latibulum petit et sub colore pœnitentiæ Romæ subterfugere quærit accessum, lucrari machinatur de inobedientia otium et cæteris in bella ruentibus hic sibi degeneris umbræ quærit opacum. Sed ego sancto Satanæ meo respondeo." Opusc. xx. opera S. Petri Dam. vol. iii. S. Petri Dam. ep. i. ii.

‡ We should have included in this class Sir Roger Greisley, if his book ("The Life and Pontificate of Gregory the Seventh," London, 1832, 8vo.) possessed the slightest pretensions to be considered a historical work. We had proposed to review its contents in the present paper, but with all the patience of reviewers, we judge it impossible to lead our readers, without wearying them to death, over four hundred pages, not *one* of which, in the strictest meaning of the word, is free from the grossest errors; such as, for instance, in the present case, at p. 160 *note*, where he throws four of these epigrams into one, printing the title of the second in the context, as a hexameter verse; and at p. 300, where he mistakes the Roman word "Regno," which properly denotes the kingdom of Naples, for the name of a town or country.

§ S. Petr. Dam. epist. i. 7, ii. 6. 9. opusc. xix.

been brought about by smooth words or pure philanthropy. The very author of the religion of love declares, that he came not to bring peace, (*St. Luke* xii. 51). The candid historian should endeavour to raise himself above the prejudices of his nation and his age, and on this subject, we cannot express our own feelings better, than by adopting the language of M. Voigt.

"Gregory lived in a barbarous age, an age of iron, possessing nothing in common with our own; and, therefore, his conduct must not be judged by our principles and our customs. We must, in the first place, bring before our eyes the period and the circumstances in which Gregory lived; the situation and constitution of the Church, its relations with the state, and its disorders; we must examine closely the state of the clergy, their spirit, tendency, rudeness, degeneracy, forgetfulness of duty and discipline, their ignorance compared with their pride. We must form a precise idea of the situation of Germany, and understand well the character of his opponent, Henry. Then, indeed, we may form our judgment of Gregory. Following this method, considering his thoughts, his actions, his intentions and his efforts, with reference to his times, we may succeed in forming, if we lay aside our prejudices, a judgment far different from the one formed by men who wish to prescribe to the pontiff, as his rule of conduct, the views and ideas of their own times.

"But, we shall be asked, do we really discover in him that sincerity, and that full conviction, of which he so often boasts, of the goodness of his cause and the justice of his pretensions? Did not cunning and perfidy guide his actions? Did he not seek to build his mighty monarchy on assumed facts, on erroneous inductions and false interpretations of Scripture? Does not this opinion, considered by him so certain, which attributed to the pope such extensive power, deserve to be stigmatized as the heresy of Hildebrand? Was not Gregory, in truth, a heretic, a hypocrite, an impostor?* To this objection we must reply,—either Gregory was the most vicious and most wicked man who has ever appeared on the earth, or he is such as his actions and writings present him to us. His letters are full of lively sentiments, an ardent love of religion, and an unshaken faith in the divinity of Jesus Christ. We discover, throughout, a conscientious discharge of his duty, an intimate conviction of the justice of his cause and of his actions, a firm belief in the rewards and punishments of the other life. Throughout, we perceive nobleness, dignity and magnanimity; on every occasion, his language is the purest and most expressive of his piety, his generous designs, and constant efforts to attain a noble object. Where then are the proofs to overturn such evidence? Are they to be found in

* This is the opinion of Mr. Bower, in his history of the popes.

his actions? Impossible;—that he acts as he speaks, facts attest, and it is vain to deny them. Gregory has maintained, we shall be told, many things that history does not acknowledge as exact, that his contemporaries and posterity have denied. But is it therefore impossible, nay, is it not extremely probable, that Gregory supposed them to be true? Could he possess that critical penetration, that knowledge, and those ideas, which have sprung up in the course of ages? Let us grant him he was unconsciously deceived,—is that a crime? he has never fabricated anything intentionally and knowingly. He acted from notions which he might innocently entertain, and of which he was fully persuaded. Who could trace other principles for his guidance? Who hath looked into his conscience, who hath read his heart, who hath sounded the depths of his soul? In condemning him thus, we condemn ourselves. If Gregory had not adopted measures to effect his designs, if he had not studied the circumstances or taken his times into account, we might blame his prudence and judgment, but not his heart. But it was precisely his ability against which men have struggled, without admitting his uprightness of soul. It is difficult to exaggerate his praises, for on all his conduct true glory is built. But, it should be the wish of every one to give honour where it is deserved, and not to throw stones at him who is guiltless. The man should be respected and honoured by all, who laboured for his contemporaries with views so exalted and so generous. Let him who feels himself guilty of calumny against him, look into his own conscience."—ii. 464.

With these words M. Voigt closes his work.

We have dedicated so much space to the subjects of these two works, that we have little left to speak of the works themselves. They are written with very dissimilar objects. M. Hock, as the reader at once observes, is a philosopher; and treats with marked predilection and precision everything connected with literature, philosophy, and theology; while, wherever he speaks of the political history of his epoch, there are numerous omissions, which are least pardonable in a biographical work. His account of the state of Rome during the time of Sylvester II, is incomplete, and generally incorrect. He gives the original, and a translation, of the decree published by Otho III on occasion of that pontiff's accession, without making the slightest allusion to the serious historical difficulties which raised well-grounded doubts of its genuineness in the minds of Baronius and other critics.* This question was sufficiently important to require the most scrupulous examination. The appendix contains documents which will

* Baron. ad Ann. 1191, s. 57. Cf. Muratori, "Piena Esposizione dei dritti Imperiali, Ed. Estensi, sopra la Città di Commachio," par. 93.

prove highly valuable and acceptable to such as have not within reach the great collections of historical documents; but its value would have been increased, if the author had taken the pains to correct the errors and corruptions in the letters of Gerbert with the aid of the manuscript of Paris, or if he had even amended the most flagrant of them from conjecture. The epitaph of Sylvester might have been corrected from the original, still preserved in the Lateran Basilica. We mention these mistakes not in a spirit of censure, but from a sincere desire that a subject so well chosen should be treated in the most perfect way.

M. Voigt, on the contrary, is a historian by profession, and unfolds the political history connected with his subject at great length; while the literary and theological portion of it, is, on the whole, imperfect. He displays throughout a perfect acquaintance with his materials; impartiality and talent in the management of his subjects, and in appreciating the spirit of the period of which he writes. He adopts the judgment of his great predecessor, John von Müller, the celebrated historian of Switzerland, respecting this holy pontiff, in his small work on the *Travels of the Popes:* but he treats the subject in all its details, minutely examining every circumstance. Since the publication of his work, it has not been usual, at least among M. Voigt's countrymen, to speak in such harsh and unbecoming terms of the character of Gregory. The only fault of consequence that we find with M. Voigt is, that he has not been sufficiently careful in distinguishing between contemporary testimonies and those of a later date. Who, for instance, would quote Platina as an authority for the history of distant times, by the side of the same contemporary writers from whose works the materials of the rest of the history are taken? To correct these mistakes would have been a useful employment for the translator, and would have cost him but little trouble,—at least, in the most important portion, the history of Germany, if he had consulted the work of Professor Stenzel, of Breslau, on the *History of Germany under the Emperors of the House of Franconia*, who, although in general too partial to Henry, has treated this branch of his subject with much accuracy. The translation would have thus become more valuable than the original itself; whilst the introduction, and additional notes, display the good intentions of the writer, rather than an intimate knowledge of his subject. In other respects, the translation has the advantage of the perfect knowledge of the German language possessed by its

author, and ranks high above those productions of the workshop, with which the French press teems in such abundance, when foreign books are concerned; and the public is indebted to M. Jager, for having employed his talents in placing this excellent work within the reach of all.

ART. II.—1. *Historya Prawodawstw Slowianskich,* przez Waclawa Alexandru Maciejowskiego. Tom. I i II w Warszawie, i Lipsku, 1832. *History of the Slavonian Legislature,* by Venceslas Alexander Maciejowski, Vol. I and II, Warsaw and Leipsic, 1832.

2. *Quelques mots sur l'état des Paysans en Pologne,* par un Polonais. Paris, 1833.

3. *La Pologne Pittoresque; Scènes Historiques, Monumens, &c. &c.* redigée par une Société de Littérateurs. Paris.

THE discontent which pervades the east of Europe, from the Baltic to the Black Sea, from the Oder to the Borysthenes, cannot be mistaken for a momentary distemper, but must be acknowledged as the forerunner of an approaching reorganization. History has taught us how to discern the characteristics, how to draw the line of distinction between these two classes of movement, by an examination of their respective causes, tendencies, and conditions.

In a family of nations, like that of the Slavonians, dismembered by foreign aggression, and insulated by different vicissitudes, momentary discontent would assume various forms, according to the tendencies of their separate interests, nationalities, and religions. But, under similar circumstances of territorial separation and forced estrangement, a complete, though distant, regeneration and reconstruction of society will always be heralded by moral union and identity of purpose. The intellectual reform, the birth of a new and thoroughly popular literature, and that religious attachment to every monument which tends to prove the community of origin, which have of late contemporaneously sprung up amongst all Slavonians; finally, their sympathy,—which, if it could not save, has supported the struggle, and ennobled the fall of Poland,—bear testimony to the truth of our assertion, that with this respect their requisite condition has been attained to. This moral power, were it confided, like the Caaba, to the custody of a privileged caste, might probably be lost amidst

inglorious feuds: but, happily, it has found a safe protection. The people, whose rights have been disregarded for so many centuries,—whose very name has been obliterated by the supremacy and monopoly of the nobles,—must now form the foundation, the essence of the reconstructed society. The union of privileged castes would lead, sooner or later, to local animosities, nourished by rivalry, or recalled by ancient jealousies; but the concord of the Slavonian people of different countries will partake of the strong love of brothers, who, long unknown to each other, discover a mutual and instinctive affection springing into life and vigour, confirmed by a blessed revelation that they are sons of the same mother. Establishing his system upon that conclusion, the democratic enthusiast will see, by anticipation, in the east of Europe, a set of flourishing republics; another politician will perceive there the rise of powerful monarchies; a wise man, without pronouncing on the form, will, in the future destinies of that land, anxiously watch for the rise of free institutions, and the supremacy of justice and religion.

We shall not encumber our pages with quotations from Jornandes and Procopius, for the early histories of the institutions of the Scythian world; their story is told in a brief, but explicit, sentence. A writer, whose industry and knowledge of the Byzantine historians cannot be questioned, and whom tenderness to Rome, and classic hatred towards "the barbarians," disposed rather to under-value, than over-rate, their merits,—Gibbon, in the 42nd chapter of his *History*, thus describes the constitution of the Slavonian community: "Some voluntary respect was yielded to age and valour, but each tribe or village existed as a separate republic; and all must be persuaded, where none could be compelled."

This state of equality continued from the fifth to the tenth century; and, according to the same authority, they "disdained to obey a despot or a prince." Then came the long night of Slavonian darkness, where all was torpid and benumbed, and the last spark of vitality appeared to be extinct. But, happily, it was only in appearance: the seed was buried, which in time would burst and bear fruit, in the re-organization of institutions worthy of the sons of freemen.

We will not stop to trace the causes, and to blame the authors, of these ten centuries of Slavonic slavery. If they were occasioned less by the force of circumstances, than by the rapacity and supineness of the upper classes, to them we must look for an acknowledgment of their error; we must

call on them to imitate the Emperor Constantine, and to erect a monument with the inscription, "To my son, whom I have unjustly condemned." Let that monument be a careful inquiry into the rights, the former sufferings, and the future emancipation, of their country.

The learned labours of the Slavonian literati of the present age, have already thrown great light upon the history of their race. Poland, aided by her intellectual eminence, her superiority in experience, and the authority of glorious deeds, leads the way on the road of investigation. Naruszewicz and Lelewel are remarkable:—whether sauntering on the gay and verdant plains of poetry, or plodding their way through the unenlivened tracts of legislation and history, and have already pioneered the limits of that region. The first attempt, however, to reduce the scattered and unconnected data to a lucid system,—at least, as far as legislation is concerned,—has been made by the professor whose work we have placed at the head of this article. The learned author filled the office of professor of the Roman law at the university of Warsaw. Niebuhr, in his magnificent work, was the first to show that, by elucidating the history of Rome, great light might be thrown upon the history of the Gothic and German constitutions. The 44th chapter of Gibbon's History is one of those conceptions which genius often throws out carelessly on his way, little foreseeing that it will open to posterity a new field for intellectual industry. Savigny followed up that idea, and defined the limits of a new science, which, under the name of the history of legislation, has been enthroned in every German university. The perusal of his works has produced some of the noblest efforts of study and genius in our time. We trace its effects in the *History of the Slavonian Legislature.* This work of Maciejowski partakes much of the tameness and the obscurity of a first trial: it savours of the erudition and the suffocating labour of a scholar, who, on issuing from his fortress of time-worn books and dusty manuscripts, feels giddy and bewildered by the influence of pure air. Constant references to the sources and authorities; brief, vague, and sententious periods, classed in divisions and subdivisions, render its pages more encumbered with numbers than words. A tyro in that study will rise from its perusal over-tired, if not dismayed. Still we have no hesitation in pronouncing it to be a gigantic step; and though we have not yet seen the last two volumes of the work, we are much mistaken if it do not form an epoch in this branch of Polish literature.

The pamphlet bearing the title *On the State of the Peasants in Poland*, is a vindication of the Polish nobility, from the aspersions of those who accuse either their obstinacy or ignorance for not having emancipated the lower classes of their country in proper time.

La Pologne Pittoresque, a lively and parti-coloured publication, possesses all the merits and gaudiness of our Penny Magazines. Ministering to the fashionable taste for "pittoresques" now prevalent in France, it is more calculated to amuse than to instruct. The motto, "*utile dulci*," has been of late so much used and abused, that we may easily concede its attractive auspices to this work, which now has completed the fourth year of its existence. Among the descriptions of old ruins, manners, and popular habits, we may cull here and there a flower of original growth, which will enliven the tediousness of the first of the above-named works, and furnish us with a commentary to the second.

To these scanty materials we are at present limited and indebted for the data which we have gleaned, in order to present our readers with a succinct history of the political, moral, and social condition of the Polish peasants.

"The importance attached to the Slavonian nations in history," says Herder, in his celebrated work, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, "is far from proportionate to the extent of the land they occupied. One, amongst many reasons, of this omission, lies in their having dwelt so remote from the Romans. Notwithstanding their occasional exploits, they have never been enterprising warriors, or adventurers, like the Germans. These, they for the most part followed quietly, settling in the places they evacuated; till at length, they were in possession of the vast territory, extending from the Don to the Elbe, and from the Adriatic to the Baltic sea. On this side of the Carpathian mountains, their settlements extended from Luneburg, over Mecklenburg, Pomerania, Brandeburg, Saxony, Lusatia, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Poland, and Russia; beyond them, where, at an early period, they have settled in Wallachia and Moldavia, they were continually spreading farther and farther, till the emperor Heraclius admitted them into Dalmatia; and the kingdoms of Slavonia, Bosnia, Servia, and Dalmatia, were founded by them. In Pannonia they were equally numerous; they possessed all the south-eastern angle of Germany, from Friuli; so that their domains terminated with Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola,—an immense region, the European part of which is still inhabited by one nation.

"Everywhere they settled on lands that others had relinquished; cultivating, or enjoying them as colonists, husbandmen, or shepherds. In that, their noiseless industry was of infinite advantage to

countries from which other nations had migrated, or which they had passed over and plundered. They were fond of agriculture, stores of corn and cattle, and various domestic arts; and everywhere opened a beneficial trade, with the produce of their land and industry. Along the Baltic they built sea-port towns, among which, Vineta, in the Island of Rugen, was the Amsterdam of the Slavonians: on the Dnieper, they built Kiow; on the Wolga, Novogrod; which soon became flourishing commercial towns, uniting the Black Sea with the Baltic, and conveying the productions of Asia to the north and the west of Europe. In Germany, they followed the working of mines, understood the smelting and casting of metals, manufactured salt, fabricated linen, brewed mead, planted fruit-trees, and led, after their fashion, a gay and musical life. They were liberal, hospitable to excess, lovers of pastoral freedom, but submissive and obedient; enemies to spoil and rapine. All this preserved them not from—nay, it tempted—oppression. For, they were never ambitious of sovereignty; had among them no hereditary princes addicted to war; and thought little of paying tribute, so they could but enjoy their lands in peace."

Such are the characteristics of a race, peaceful, though valiant; humane and hospitable, even while idolatrous; rich and industrious, and yet unconnected, and almost unknown, to the Roman empire. It is always difficult, and here it would be useless, to inquire from what region of central Asia issued that race, which, in the general commotion, following the more daring or rapacious tribes, succeeding each other like the strata of the earth, appeared in Europe, carrying the olive-branch of peace, and healing wounds inflicted by the sword and fire of the ruder barbarians. In the humble state of our knowledge, we are still enlightened enough to mark the dispensation of providential wisdom, which bade the sea of invasion, pouring its reckless waves on the plains of Europe, to carry in its own bosom strong materials for throwing up a rampart, which, in the sequel, was to moderate and allay, if not to stop, the fury of the raging element. Our ignorance precludes us, perhaps, from stating the number and importance of the warlike adventurers, who were checked by that rampart, in their hasty career towards the centre of the Roman empire. But we know, that its principal, its strongest outwork—Poland, afterwards resisted ninety-one invasions of the Tartars, from the times of Zingis-khan, to those of Timour and his descendants; and, in later times, saved Christianity, under the consecrated banner of Sobieski.

From the fifth to the tenth century of the Christian era, the Slavonian race struggled constantly against the Asiatic

invaders on one side, and the more formidable Germans on the other. Their riches and industry, which attracted the rapacity of the first, tempted the stay of the second. The uncouth robber, allured by spoils, was always impelled to a hasty retreat by the desire of securing his acquisition. But the wily Frank, or Saxon, asserted his right, not only to the fruits of the Slavonian labour, but even to the soil, which they had rendered fertile by their skill and activity. Under Charlemagne and his descendants, he claimed the universal authority of the Roman emperors. Under Henry the Fowler, and the Othos, the propagation of Christianity justified his conquests, and he trusted them to the custody of his bishops and nobles. In both cases, he advanced the argument, that the country, at least as far back as the bank of the Vistula, had been formerly wrested from him by the Slavonians, and he was now merely reasserting his supremacy over his own property. These invasions changed the face of the land, and the construction of the society of the Slavonians. Five centuries shone over the glory of Augustus, and the disgrace of Augustulus,—over Rome in its meridian, and Rome in its fall. Five centuries witnessed Odin, an unsuccessful warrior, conducting his fugitive tribe along the banks of the Borysthenes, towards the polar circle; and returning as a God, to redeem his vow of immortal revenge "on the oppressors of mankind." It is during the period of five centuries, also, that the Slavonian race was reduced from wealth to poverty; from liberty, to that state which made even their name synonymous with the most abject condition of mankind.

At the end of that epoch, when the fancied approach of the millenium awakened the hopes and apprehensions of the Christian world, a nation, settled on the northern side of the Carpathian mountains, along the banks of the Vistula, rose from obscurity to universal notice. Their territory, scarcely exceeding the limits of a small province, was extended soon to the gigantic size of a powerful monarchy. The white eagle whom they took for their emblem, and whose nest, accidentally found, marked the site of their primitive capital, soaring on high with new-born vigour, saw in a short time the dominion of the tribe he took under his tutelary wings, stretched to the farthest limits of the Slavonian region of old. While "the Roman bird," pining on the effeminate soil of Constantinople, disdained to lead the eunuchs to victory, and scarcely condescended to shed an evanescent splendour on the arms of Zimisces, his white brother of the north, preceding the banners

of Boleslaus the Great, visited the farthest boundaries of a potent kingdom, pursuing his career, till he reposed his wings on the iron pillars of the Danube, the Elbe, and the Ossa, on one side; on those of the Borysthenes on the other; and from his "pride of place," on the loftiest Carpathian peak, encompassed again the wide field of the Slavonian unity.

But his victorious flight, however flattering to the ambition of the Poles, saddens the mind of the philanthropist, since it first brings to light the change in the state of the Slavonian family. The wide distinction between two classes, the privileged and the oppressed, the warriors and the agriculturists, becomes now apparent, in all its baneful monstrosity. Who were the latter? by what process of causes and effects slavery was then brought about? are momentous questions for the historian to solve. The common admission consists, in considering the serfs as those Sarmato-Scythians, whom the Slavonians conquered in the fifth century. But what would become then of the boasted virtues of the conquerors, who are said to have coalesced with the aborigines in one uniform state of fraternity? a fact so eloquently urged by the present, and so authoritatively attested by the ancient, writers. The hypothesis, which seeks the origin of that laborious class in the prisoners taken in war, may be only partially admitted. For putting aside the impossibility of their number being sufficient for the task of the husbandry of a large country, the state of a pastoral or agricultural nation, forced by circumstances to send a chosen body of her members, for the defence of her limits and fortunes, presupposes the early existence of a distinction between the defenders and the defended, the warriors and the villagers. We may therefore allege, though perhaps our opinion will not be borne out by any precise evidence, that the continuance of long wars, imposing upon the peaceful community the duty of electing chiefs, and of honouring and paying soldiers, changed with time the privileges of the latter into an absolute right, accompanied by a corresponding depreciation of the laborious class; and thence we infer, that in the veins of the Polish peasants flows as pure a Slavonian blood, as in those of their nobility.

We may pause to take a slight survey of the grandeur of the latter class. We first perceive a crowd of warriors, feasting at the board of equality and chivalry, like the heroes of the Gothic Wallhalah. Rising higher, we would descry the round table of twelve chiefs, or Vaivods; till, from the top, our eye would meet with the majesty of a king, placing with his own

hand a golden crown upon his brow, and keeping alike his enemies in awe, and the nobility in obedience. In our descent, the diminishing splendour of the monarch, sinks again in the supremacy of a senate, till the whole mass of minor nobles, feeling the equality of birth, and the numerical majority of voices and swords, regains and enforces the most uniform state of equality. But our companionship is with the serfs, shivering in misery at the door of opulence, and pining in a most abject bondage at the threshold of a perfect civil and political liberty. To diversify that monotonous tale of abasement, the Polish annalists introduce an ingenious variety of distinctions. The serfs are metamorphosed into a motley group of Rustici, Coloni, Originarii, Adscriptitii, Villani, Tributarii, Conditionales, Servi, Famuli, &c. Though we question the reality of those nice distinctions, we are obliged to place beyond the doubt of a moment, the existence of a middle class, inferior to nobility, and yet infinitely superior to the lowest degree, a class rising at one time to the level of what was known in England under the name of *socagers*, descending at another to the condition of our *villeins*. This comparison may be easily admitted, if we bear in mind that our socagers enjoyed the freedom, though not the noble distinction of knights, and that our villeins ought never to be confounded with the serfs. We may excuse the ignorance of Jordan,* who states that Slavonia knew only two classes, the nobles and the serfs; but we must lament the error, by which Hallam was misled in asserting a similar fallacy.—(Chap. 2. part ii. vol. i.) In the same breath he lays down an undeniable fact, and commits a most flagrant blunder. "Much less," says he, "can we extend the name of feud to the polity of Poland and Russia. All the Polish nobles were equal in rights, and independent of each other; all who were less than noble, were in servitude."

Now, the origin and the component elements of an intermediate class may be traced, even to that period, when the Polish chiefs acknowledged the supremacy of the emperors; for though the Poles boast of a work very diligently written, entitled, *De Polonia nunquam tributaria*, it is owned by their most eminent historians, that the conquerors of the Slavonians on the Elbe, extended at least a nominal, though disputed sovereignty over those on the banks of the Vistula. In that period, *villani* possessed a great part of the Polish soil, and were as "free though not as privileged" as the nobles.

* De Originibus Slavicis. Vindobonæ, 1795, p. 85.

Kmethones, holding lands upon the condition of paying an agreed rent, or performing certain manual labours upon the lord's estate, had the faculty of selling, inheriting, and even bequeathing it to whomsoever they pleased,—a legacy, which could not be reversed by the master, as long as the tenanted soil was kept in the proper state of cultivation, and all the conditions were strictly fulfilled. Remembering therefore the two great maxims, unalterably enforced in Poland, that whoever possessed "even a furrow of land," according to their quaint expression, was in duty bound to take up arms, whenever called for his country's defence, and that having once appeared in the ranks of the army, he was, *ipso facto*, ennobled,—we must naturally come to the conclusion, evidently borne out by history, that not only the middle class was powerful and respectable, but that the kings, when their power was in the ascendant, had often a salutary recourse to that body, for a kindred and liberalizing admixture to the overbearing nobility, who, on the other hand, in the waning period of monarchical power, strove to crush the inferior villani and kmethones, and make them subservient to the vile condition of the serfs. In the 13th century, the coronets of the magnates began to outshine the monarch's crown, and their swords often over-ruled the decisions of his sceptre. In the sequel, however, when the depopulation made by the Tartars during that century, left large tracts of untenanted land, the more reflecting were induced to discover a remedy. While Polish law could not afford a sufficient protection, the new free labourers sought it in a statute book of a foreign country. It is under the auspices of justice, as administered in Magdebourg, that the middle class re-appears in Poland. Under the safeguard of the *Jus Teutonicum*, the privileges and immunities of burgesses were originally guaranteed and maintained, their riches increased, and their importance rose to that degree, which even commanded the respect of the nobles, who considered all laws, not consonant with their exclusive spirit, as odious or obsolete, and continually strove to engross all the advantages of liberty. Thus, one of the burgesses of Cracow filled the high office of the treasurer of the crown under Casimir the Great, and entertained, at his hospitable board, three monarchs of Europe, conferring on them presents so costly, that their parsimony or poverty was unable to return them. In the chartered towns, they elected their burgomaster and council, had the privilege of coining money, possessed a special and independent jurisdiction, and managed their own internal affairs. Under the Iagiellon

family, they sent nuntios to the diet, and even affixed their signatures to the treaties entered into with foreign powers. Sheltered under these immunities, they strove long with varied fortune of success and defeat, till in 1791, their political rights were assimilated to those of the nobility. These data ought to be carefully recorded, because the existence of a middle class is the finest monument a nation can preserve. It rescues the remotest times from the suspicion of utter tyranny. In the middle ages, it illustrates that opposition, which, in the entrenched walls of towns, first reared the standard of European liberty. And after centuries of struggle, the most advanced, free, and potent nations, have come to the conviction, that freedom is safest when trusted to the guardianship of the middle classes.

In Slavonia, and afterwards in Poland, the serf enjoyed the rank of *persona*, without ever being degraded, as in Germany, to be considered merely as *res*. His complaint or accusation had always a ready access to the court of magistrates appointed by the king. At no times did his master possess over him the power of life and death. In that long period, when, throughout Europe, crimes were redressed by a pecuniary mulct, the head of a serf in Poland was valued at one-half of that of a noble. On the other hand, the perpetrator of his death, paid the fine not only to the lord, but even to the state; a fact, which implies the acknowledgment of serfs as members of the community. Bound to the soil, he could not be either sold or exchanged separately from it. The hideous atrocity of German laws had not visited their more humane neighbours. We cannot trace among them even an approaching monstrosity to that, which Tacitus mentions, saying, that in Germany, he that lost at play, became the slave of the winner. On the contrary, during the first centuries of Polish monarchy, thirty years were allowed to the captive taken in war, to buy himself and his children out of servitude. The first Polish monarchs seem to have been animated by a noble spirit of equity. Boleslaus the Great, in his frequent perambulations through his vast monarchy, carefully listened to the complaints, and redressed the grievances, of the meanest of his subjects. *Sicque diligenter*, says of him Gallus, *rem pauperam ut aliquis magni principis pertractabat.* We may judge of the protection afforded by him to the labourer and the serf, by the severity which he employed against the refractory nobles. He used to invite the illustrious recreants to a bath, where the legitimate application of lash or stripe admonished them of the obligation of humanity towards

their inferiors. Thence, the Polish expression, "to invite to a bath," is synonymous with that of "giving a good flogging." During his reign and that of his valiant successors, till the middle of the twelfth century, the serf had the power to apply in all cases to the jurisdiction of the provincial governor, from whose verdict he might appeal to the king. True, that in the thirteenth century, when the prevailing fashion of dividing kingdoms amongst all sons, had been imitated by the Polish monarchs, and parcelled the once-powerful empire; the nobility took advantage of the impotence of the rulers, and appropriated to themselves the right of judging the misdemeanours of their serfs. Their unbridled power was, however, soon effectively checked by that king, who has merited the name of the king of the peasants. The statute of Wislica not only prescribed a heavier fine for the murder of a peasant, but punished that crime with banishment.* That rich and powerful nobleman, who was kept by his order in prison, upon the coarse pittance of hay and water, till he was starved to death, bore that severe penalty for his robberies and probably for his oppression of the serfs.

From the death of Casimir the Great, to the middle of the last century, we totally lose sight of the lower classes. Even the shadow of royal control had now vanished before the omnipotence of the privileged assemblies and diets. The ancient middle class disappeared. A great part of the villani were ennobled, by the process of time and frequency of wars, and formed the kernel of that poor nobility, whose destitution engendered turbulence and anarchy, while the heavy exactions of the masters degraded the Kmethones into the condition of serfs,—for, unable to pay the rent, they voluntarily surrendered their freedom. Nor is this in contradiction with our former remarks, showing the permanent existence of an intermediate class. In the chasm thus widening between the two opposite arrays, now stepped in the numerous body of the burgesses, peasants protected by the Jus Teutonicum, and free-labourers, cultivating the *starosties*, or royal domains. The tenure for life of the starosties was bestowed by kings on the most meritorious or illustrious from among the nobility. It has been calculated that their extent amounted to one-fourth of the whole territory of the kingdom. Peasants settled on them enjoyed sundry privileges; amongst which, the most im-

* "Si quis servum proprium sine conscientia judicis occiderit, excommunicatione vel penitentia biennii reatum sanguinis emandabat."—*Polish Chronicle.*

portant was, that at all times they had access to the king, and could claim both his protection and jurisdiction. But those isolated communities were always jealously watched, constantly kept in political insignificance, and their stronghold besieged and often invaded by the reigning order. On the accession of Stanislaus Augustus to the throne, a law was enacted, that the murder of a peasant was a capital crime. Sir William Coxe, who travelled soon after in Poland, expresses his dissatisfaction at the number of witnesses which was required to bring home the charge to a noble, if guilty of such offence. But this provision was only the precursor of far more extended reforms. We cannot follow, though we may take an occasional glance at, the history of Poland's reorganization during the last sixty years.

As far back as the middle of the seventeenth century, John Casimir, on laying down the crown, in a stirring farewell address, pointed to the evils, and expressed his hope of their amendment. Fifty years afterwards, another exile, king Leszczynski, admonished the Polish nobility of the rights of the people, urging upon them the truth in the following dispassionate manner: "*Le fondement de notre état c'est le peuple. Si ce fondement n'est que de terre et de boue, l'état ne peut durer longtems : travaillons donc à renforcer cet appui de la Republique ; sa force sera nôtre soutien, son indépendance notre sûreté.*" At last, the undercurrent of popular feeling began to break through the cover of infatuation and guilty attachment to old privileges. Zamoyski gave his name to a code presented at the diet of 1780, embodying the provisions of full liberty for all. Defeated on this occasion by Russian intrigue, the great principle was soon raised again, and upheld with renewed vigour. The constitution of the 3d of May 1791, is of itself a work which antiquity would have inscribed on brass; and which the Poles have imprinted on a less perishable substance—their hearts. That code proclaimed the liberty of all, whether alien or native, peasant or Jew ; and without reserve and delay, equalized all classes in the eye of the law. Though its provisions could not have been carried into effect, before the invading powers had again shut the portals of the temple of hope and improvement, its spirit raised scythe-armed legions for the immortal Kosciuszko. The world admired his manifesto, which begins with the memorable words, "Every peasant is free;" but reason admitting alike, his merit, and the absolute obligation under which he stood, to reproclaim the constitution of the 3d of May, will assign an

equal praise to his other regulations. Hitherto the amount of the manual labour, which the peasant was held to perform on the master's estate, for the tenure of land apportioned to him, depended on the unrestricted will of the latter. For such contract, unequal, uncertain, varying with every district if not with every village, Kosciuszko substituted a national compact, uniform and equally binding on both parties. He reduced at the same time the statute labour (corvée) to the minimum, which justice to the proprietors would not allow him to abolish entirely. In 1807 and 1815, a part of the ancient monarchy was raised to a mock independence; the constitution of which, the great mass of the natives had neither the will to assent to, nor the power to oppose. Yet, in the duchy of Warsaw, all classes indiscriminately had acquired civil liberty and political franchise. Both were distinctly laid down in the charter granted by Alexander. The 131st article of that code, gives the faculty of voting at the election of the deputies, to every citizen, non-noble, paying any tax whatever from a landed property. Again, the 121st article of the same charter runs thus: "The qualifications to be elected nuncio to the diet are, the possession of the rights of a Polish citizen, the payment of a yearly tax of about fifty shillings, and thirty years of age." There is not the slightest mention of the nuncio being required to be noble or even burgess. We admit that this provision proved but a dead letter, for few, very few, of the non-nobles possessed landed property. The idea of the endowment of the labourers with property, began now to be actively canvassed by the patriots. Civil liberty to all Poles has been guaranteed in the kingdom, conceded by Austria and Prussia, and only denied by Russia, which bore with all the weight of its aristocratic institutions and inhuman regulations upon the already miserable condition of the serfs. Thus also the peasant's right to property implied by Austria, (which regulating the corvée, revived only Kosciuszko's decree), acknowledged by Prussia, which proclaimed, that one-half of the soil tenanted by the peasant was henceforth to belong lawfully to him,—leaving him at the same time the faculty of entering into a contract with the master for the other moiety,—was, by law, influence, and despotic authority, yet more narrowly circumscribed, as the monopoly of the few in that part of Poland, over which Russia ruled. Here the friend of Poland will pause, to praise or condemn Austria for the pale, insufficient measure of its half-enlightened policy, to bestow his unqualified eulogy upon the civil policy of Prussia

towards Poland; for, though he is told that the pressure of enormous taxes destroys there all benefit which might be supposed to be derived by the labourer from enfranchised property, and that the Prussian system, refusing all political rights, had only in view to produce jealousy between the two classes, he can hardly be blind enough not to perceive in it an approximation to liberty. The enlightened friend of Poland, we repeat, will pause and dwell upon the all-absorbing question, why the nobles in the kingdom, using the little freedom they possessed, have not, by a spontaneous act, agreed to the endowment of the peasants with property. Had Russia opposed it, the great, the serious struggle would have begun fifteen years earlier; and the Polish nobility, whether successful or not, would have appeared before the world in the character to which we bear our testimony, but which their foes strive daily to controvert, of the enfranchisers and benefactors of a large body of their countrymen. Still, neither good wishes, nor magnanimous examples, were there wanting. The establishment of schools in every village attests the desire of enlightening the peasants, before they were to be called into the exercise of new rights. Have we not all heard and admired the devotion of Staszyc, who, himself a minister of state, sacrificed all his fortune for the purchase of a large estate, which he divided among the peasants, under the condition of their paying a rent, from the accumulation of which, neighbouring villages were to be bought and likewise converted into communities of independent proprietors? Had there been more liberality and less rigour in the government, which only tolerated Staszyc's liberality, as the fancy of a superannuated priest, his example might have achieved wonders in Poland. But, through the dispensation of Divine Providence, if glory and chivalry were to be astonished by the so closely succeeding acts of Polish valour and devotion, humanity was denied the satisfaction of seeing the same generation perform two great reforms, which in all other nations had been distanced by ages. The generation of 1830, was destined to give the final development to the principles of their fathers of 1791. The free peasant fought on the fields of Grochow and Ostrolenka; the proprietor peasant would have led the van of triumph, had the revolution been successful.

For, it would be vain to conceal, that the great question which now commands the most serious attention of that nation, lies in the general wish of raising the peasant in the scale of society, of teaching him the true usefulness of liberty, by

admitting him into the circle of proprietors. How it may be achieved with justice for both parties, we possess neither leisure nor sufficient knowledge to inquire. But we cannot refrain from quoting, on this subject, the opinion of one of the members of the Convention, Garraide de Coulon.

"La fixation (said he, in 1794) du mode le plus propre à assurer des propriétés actuelles aux paysans Polonois, dépend de la combinaison de beaucoup de localités; mais les serfs de la Pologne ont toujours possédé, moyennant des rédévances, des tenues particulières, qui servaient à leur entretien personnel, et qu'ils transmettaient à leurs enfants. On pense que c'est surtout ces petits lots de terre, dont il est juste de reconnoître aux tenanciers l'entière propriété. Ces tenues aujourd'hui si chétives, deviendront alors une pepinière abondante d'agriculteurs intrépides et vertueux."

From this outline of the phases through which slavery passed in Poland, we may gather the following data:

1. That it never was so abject as in all feudal countries.
2. That throughout the three periods, of equality, of nobilitarian preponderance, and of reform, it was never sanctioned by law, but maintained by abuse.
3. That the first change in Poland must ultimately eradicate it, and she must recruit from its ranks the body of small proprietors, the real strength of all states.

After a long, and our readers may think, a tedious, research into the cumbrous annals of a nation, in order to trace its hideous, and therefore carefully concealed, failings,—to bring to light its delinquency,—to show the alternate features of arrogant dominion and patient slavery,—nothing can be more relieving and reanimating, than to advert to the chapter of the moral feelings of the people, and to trace on the gloomy horizon the concentration of the dispersed rays of that divine doctrine, which teaches benevolence and leniency to the powerful, peace and forbearance to the bondsman. In few instances, indeed, do we find so much reason for satisfaction, as when considering the religious, moral, and intellectual excellence of the Slavonian race. But our difficulties increase as we approach this subject, and especially that most important of all questions, whether we look to the past history of Poland, or to her future prospects,—we mean that of the religion professed by the vast majority of her inhabitants. Our limits will not allow us to enter fully into this subject on the present occasion; nor even to trace minutely the spirit of Catholicism, ever-ruling, ever-reanimating, ever-victorious, in the achievements of that orthodox nation; but we hope to be able to

show, that from this central point all other questions must radiate; that without the light it throws around, ten centuries of Polish glory would remain unexplained; the struggle of the present generation, so often renewed, and so fearlessly carried on, unintelligible; and the hopes of its successful end undetermined. It will be easily conjectured, that the blissful influence of Catholicism over political life,—that the benefits derived from strict and uniform adherence to its pure and undefiled doctrines, must appear most prominently in the annals of that portion of the people, within whose pale, public liberties were exclusively centered. But, at the same time, it does not require a very clear-sighted eye, to read, on the rased tables of the serfs' history, that the same faith was the source and the preserver of their virtues; that, in the absence of all other aid, nay, in spite of the trammels imposed by such political constitution, it formed their education, and quickened their progress; that by it alone the bond of unity was maintained, which the perennial attachment to exclusiveness on one side, and the natural impatience and sense of inborn rights on the other, tended constantly to destroy; and that it is under its auspices alone that the great mass of people can be peacefully ushered into that new career, which must re-assert and consolidate the political existence of their country.

The principal features of the pristine and aboriginal faith of the Slavonians are accurately known. The truth of the unity of God, and the immortality of the soul, may be traced even in the times of their paganism. When the Polish Constantine, Miezysclas the First, proclaimed Christianity as the religion of the state (965), he did not experience any serious resistance, but saw, on the appointed day, the nobility and the serfs flocking to the baptismal font. The people, whose new-born zeal sought a natural gratification in the vengeance on the objects of their former worship, tying ropes round the necks of their idols, dragged them to the banks of ponds and marshes, and cast them into the water. This innocent revenge has been perpetuated by a custom, which still prevails in some parts of Poland, where, on a certain day, people indulge in that innocent malignity and festive sport, with which our boys annually parade through the streets the shattered mannikin of Guy Fawkes. Ten years only intervene between the conversion of the Russian Olga, who, amidst the pomp and gorgeous ceremonies of St. Sophia, received the sacrament from the hands of the Greek patriarch (955); and the baptism of the Polish king, performed with all the

simplicity of apostolic custom, by the bishop, recognizing the authority of the pope, John XIII. At one time, therefore, Christian missionaries started from two opposite points; not, however, to meet in anger, or with thunders of excommunication, but to unite their labours for the propagation of the Gospel. This absence of all rancorous feeling on the part of those missionaries, may have held a protecting shield over the speedy growth of Christianity in the east of Europe, but it did not prevent the establishment of the authority of the Church, in Poland and its dependencies, on that firm foundation, upon which it has ever since continued to stand. A few years after its conversion, we find its territory divided into dioceses, possessing a regular hierarchy, and obeying the spiritual commands of the archbishop of Gnesen. The great founder of Polish monarchy, Boleslaus the Great,—he, who adorned his brow with so many laurels, that his newly-acquired crown (for until his accession to the throne, only the title of prince was conceded to the Polish monarchs) seemed almost a mockery,—carried always before him, from the shores of the Elbe and the Danube, to the banks of the Borysthenes, the emblem of Christianity, and knew of no stronger bond between the metropolis and the conquered countries, than the uniformity of religion. And when the kingly title was bestowed upon him by the emperor Otho, it was at the shrine of Saint Adalbertus, his friend and councillor, whose trials in Bohemia, and his martyrdom in Prussia, had proclaimed to the world, that the mission of Poland to defend Christianity, and spread the boons of civilization, had then already begun. Admirably was that renowned conqueror seconded in his views by his nobility, who, to show their readiness to defend religion at all times, unsheathed one half of their swords during the performance of the mass; a custom observed for eight hundred years. The humble peasant, deprived of that mark of distinction, could only give a proof of a similar zeal, by a faithful fulfilment of Christian duties. It would be vain to deny, that in this early period, some of the highest clergy, sprung from aristocratic houses, brought up in the atmosphere of their prejudices, forsaking the sacerdotal robe of the teachers of peace, for the armour of militant adventurers, preferring the pursuits and the appetites of the world to the reign by opinion and spiritual communion, identified their interests with those who were, politically, equal to them, and condemned the fellow-christian in the slave; thus more aggravating the hardships of servitude by

their implied assent, than lessening them by casual interference of benevolence. To show the true cause of this dark vista in the history of Catholicism in Poland, and to prove that that country had always a warning from above whenever it showed an inclination to stray from the path of its duty, let us ask in what time did this happen? It was when the Polish kings began to effect and to boast of their independence from the papal see; when they asserted their right to the nomination of bishops, without the advice and the sanction of Rome, in order to introduce their flatterers and their tools into the highest pale of the Church; when the disorderly priesthood spurned the rule of celibacy; and when a successor of that Boleslaus the Great, who avenged the death, and enriched the shrine of St. Adalbertus, closed the short span of Polish martyrology, by slaying, with his impious hand, the reprover of his licentiousness, the castigator of depreciated morals among the nobility, and now the patron of Poland,—the bishop Stanislaus Szczepanowski. This dereliction of their noble duty, on the part of the highest dignitaries of the Church, was only temporary. It has never spread to the humbler ranks of the clergy. No better proof can be adduced of this, than the influence which the Church continued to possess upon every class of the community, and by means of which it was enabled to save and extricate the country from one of those distressing emergencies, which plunge the greatest nations into the gulf of perdition, without the least chance of escape, except by the agency of some very high principle. This critical epoch was now at hand. Scarcely had the Polish monarchy been constituted, and before its component parts had sufficient time to coalesce and to fuse into one compact body, when one of the monarchs, following the custom of the age, committed the imprudence of dividing the kingdom among his five sons. The dissentions of the brothers, struggling for supremacy; the long war consequent upon their pretensions, coupled with the disastrous inroads of the Tartars, which happened a short time afterwards, would have blotted out Poland from the list of European nations, or subjected it, in common with Muscovy, to the ignominious rule of Bati-khan, had it not been for the Church, which,—when all was crumbling around, when no political leader could be found, no constitutional power strong enough to save,—stepped forward to keep together the distracted state, and by a well-devised hierarchy, concentrating all the means of government, and the elements of

order and action, in the hands of the archbishop of Gnesen, enabled the latter to carry the country triumphant, if not unscathed, through a long series of trials and misfortunes. Here we cannot stop farther than to remark the analogy of the services rendered by the Catholic Church to Poland on this occasion, to those performed by it upon a much larger stage, upon the breaking up of the Roman empire, and leave to the reader the appreciation of the difficulties and the merits of this achievement.

When Poland emerged again from this state of confusion, her kings and nobility bethought themselves to give a legal constitution to the empire. For this task, the enlightenment, the learning, and, what was of still greater importance, the unprejudiced benevolence towards humbler classes, so predominant among the clergy, were put into requisition. The first Polish legislative assembly was but a synod of the dignitaries of the Church. And when Casimir the Great framed that immortal code of laws, in which, protection afforded to the lower classes was a glorious feature, he owed a great part of his reputation, the proud name of the "king of peasants," to his spiritual advisers.

The close of the fourteenth century was marked by one of those events, the explanation of which cannot be even attempted, unless it be carried at once into the region far above all political considerations. Two powerful nations, different in origin, in manners, and in constitution,—entirely estranged from each other by long and continued wars, one Christian, the other Pagan,—Poland and Lithuania, had coalesced spontaneously together, and united in a bond never to be severed. Alluding to this event, a Polish Catholic* says:—

"There was no instance of Polish kings and Polish warriors conquering neighbouring countries with the sword, but they made other nations sharers of their brotherhood; uniting them in the common bond of faith and liberty. And God rewarded them for it; for a great country, Lithuania, united with Poland, like a betrothed bride with a bridegroom, two souls in one body, And there never existed such an union of nations; yet, hereafter, such an union shall exist. For this union and wedding-tie of Lithuania and Poland, is but an image of an universal union of Christian nations, which is to be effected in the name of faith and freedom."

This quotation answers our purpose better than anything we might adduce in corroboration of our main argument,

* Mickiewicz.—"The books of Polish pilgrimage."

that all the glory and power of Poland must be traced to her religion.

Upon this, followed an age of immense power, and highest culture. Now, Poland had begun to be considered as one of the chief states of Europe. She was admitted into their councils, and often decided the fate of long wars, and difficult negotiations. Her literature and arts were scarcely outshone by the golden æra of the contemporaneous revival of letters in Italy. In this, as in every other improvement and reform, the clergy took the lead. And here, an unprejudiced historian with pleasure might advert to, and draw a great moral lesson from, the comparison of the state of the Polish and Russian clergy. While the former enriched with their labour every department of literature and science—while the European celebrity of such among them as taught in public, drew students from every land, to the University of Cracow—while they filled the proudest stations in the state—while the presence of their delegates at the councils and synods of the prelates from the whole of Christendom, was of immense, sometimes of paramount, advantage to the interests and welfare of Europe—while Italy, then in the zenith of her culture, found it a subject of pride to possess some of them as professors and rectors to her most renowned academies,—the Russian clergy pined in deepest ignorance, meanly crouching and submissive, as vile instruments in the hands of those who combined, in their own persons, political and religious authority. That Russia had been subjected to the Tartars; that it remained under their dominion long after the khans had lost the power to enforce it; that none of her institutions have lost, as yet, the stamp of barbarity; that her people are deteriorated in every respect; that she has been so late, as a power, and that she will be yet long, as a nation, in coming into the pale of the European community: of all this, the cause lies in the single fact, that Olga and Vladimir did not seek the light of Christianity in Rome, but in Constantinople.

The end of this bright period coincides with the first appearance of the doctrines of the Reformation on the threshold of Poland. It is a well-known circumstance, that Poland took no part in the religious wars then distracting the neighbour-states; and that she even admitted, and harboured with benevolence, the fugitive associates and disciples of Luther. In a country so pre-eminently Catholic, no danger was apprehended from the protection thus granted to the enemies of her established religion. It must be confessed, that some of her

ambitious nobility, ever stirring, ever on the look-out for some new ground of opposition to the adverse party, embraced with eagerness the tenets of Protestantism. But of that class, it may be remarked in general, what Czaeki says of their leader in particular; "that he was persuaded by Calvin, that to establish a printing-press for Protestant pamphlets, was to be learned; and to inveigh against the pope, was to be bold." Yet, the new doctrine did never find any permanent stand in Poland. It never reached the lower classes. Witness that celebrated edict of the diet, in 1560; in which the nobles guaranteed to each other the liberty of "performing in their houses Divine service, according to such forms of Christian religion as they may please,"—precluding, at the same time, with severest laws, the possibility of introduction of such liberty among the serfs. No doubt, this originated in the narrow-minded attachment to privileges, and was of a piece with other restrictions. But one cannot but rejoice to see the workers of mischief, the promoters of dissent, thus circumscribing its bad effects in their own circle; and by their own agency, keeping unpolluted the other estate of the monarchy. This has sunk still deeper the stamp of dissolution, to which the nobility was approaching; while the unprivileged class trimmed the flame of future vitality, with their staunch adherence to the standard of the true Church.

But even this mania, productive only of still more bitterness in the already envenomed dissensions, soon passed away. Protestantism began rapidly to decline. It lost its force, by emulating with, and persecuting other dissenting sects. The enmity of Calvin against the anti-Trinitarians, struck a death-blow to his followers in Poland. The misguided were fast returning to the faith of their ancestors. The horizon darkening with impending and fast-gathering dangers, seemed to shadow forth another warning. The Poles rallied again round the Church; and it is in this return that lies the secret strength, by which the country, undermined by anarchy and licence—surrounded and overrun by the Tartars, the Russians, the Swedes, and the Cossacks—repeatedly visited by famine and pestilence,—was able to maintain her existence during two hundred years of war, plague, contested elections, and civil broils. "Poles," exclaimed king Stephen Batory, "you owe not your safety to your laws,—you do not know them; neither to your government,—you never cease to disobey it; you owe it merely to chance." But with how much greater truth, with how much higher elevation of sentiment,

he might have pointed to the undissolved bond of religion, and the spirit of Catholicism, ever active, repairing, reanimating, what all other elements were bent to destroy—as that all-healing principle of existence. It is there, also, that we must look for the explanation of the fact, how Poland, weak herself, scarcely able to prop up her own precarious existence, reassumed for awhile, the power and the vigour of a most prospering and vigorous state, to serve civilization, and save Christianity, under the walls of Vienna.

Seven hundred and eighteen years have now elapsed since her conversion; and more than four centuries intervene between the time, when she first thrust her protecting shield over faith and freedom, by successfully opposing the Tartars, and the time when she ultimately crushed the power of the Turks,—between the imploring suit of the Russians for aid against the former, and the no less humble embassy of Palavicini, to save the emperor from the latter,—between the crushing of the spear with the golden wolf, emblematic of the power of the Tartars, and the capture of Mahomet's standard, which Sobieski sent to the pope, from the gates of Vienna; and during all this long period, Poland had opportunities enough to form a deep conviction that she found the mainspring of her victories, her prop and aid in her defeats, the enhancer of her virtues, and the rectifier of her errors, in the Church, and that form of religion, to which she had uniformly adhered.

The period of the final dissolution was fast approaching. This time, the warning from above, was followed by a most awful visitation. We shall not run again over the events of that most distressing period of discord,—conflicting interests and anarchy at home, and of perfidious combination abroad. But there is one question, which surely lies within our province; and this is, how did her faithless and rapacious neighbours, bent upon her destruction, how did they possess sufficient power to intrigue and nourish the flame of discord, within the limits of the empire? And history will answer that it was by playing upon the religious prejudices of the Protestants, in whom Russia and Prussia found ready tools of their designing policy. If real grievances existed, were there for the Protestants no other means of redressing them, than to call in the interference, the armed interference, of a foreign potentate? And who was that potentate? Was he a monarch of the same religion? Was he distinguished by friendly feelings towards the Protestants? Was he moral, virtuous, and just, at least?

Surely we cannot put here a stronger negative to all these qualifications, then by telling at once the name of that monarch. It was the Empress Catherine.

But Poland was not doomed to fall without a brilliant effort to regain her power and to recruit her forces; an effort which has endeared her to all free nations. It would be superfluous to argue, that the spontaneous renunciation of all privileges on the part of the Polish nobility, that this great act of self-denial, could only originate in the spirit and lessons of that religion, which frees the human mind from the narrow circle of individualism. Of this event, the sublime writer whom we have already quoted, says:—

"And God granted to the kings and the men of war of Poland, champions of freedom, that they should call each other brothers, both rich and poor. And the kings and men of war continually admitted more and more people to share their brotherhood. Often they admitted entire hosts and whole tribes; and the number of brethren grew as great as the nation. And there is no nation, which had so many freemen, who called themselves brethren, as the Polish nation.

"And it came to pass, that on the third day of May, 1791, the king and the men of war, resolved upon making all the Poles 'brethren' among each other; at first the burghers, afterwards the peasants.

"And they endeavoured to make every Christian a noble, in proof of his having a noble and generous mind, ever ready to die for freedom. In like manner as formerly, every one who became the disciple of the gospel, was called Christian, in proof that he was ready to spill his blood for Christ.

"Nobility was then the baptism of freedom; and whoever was ready to die for freedom, was to be baptized a noble, by right and by sword.

"And Poland at last proclaimed: Whoever he be, that comes to me, he shall be free and equal."

"All free and equal!" This indeed has been the watchword of all Polish struggles during the last fifty years. No wonder then that each effort becomes more perfect, more national, and let us add more Catholic. During the last revolution, the clergy were the most powerful agents, in stirring whole populations, and urging them into those memorable achievements, which for ten months held Europe in suspense, between the admiration of their bravery, and the misgiving of their failure. They taught them devotion to their country from the pulpit, and led them in person to victory on the battle-fields. And the persecution, to which now the Catholics

are subjected, is but a sure mark that Russia knows that there lies the strength and the principle of the restoration of Poland.

Reverting to the subject more immediately under notice, there remains but one remark to be made. We have shown that with respect to the serfs, the mission of the Church was at all times mitigating, civilizing, emancipating; that it exemplified Guizot's remark, when that writer asserts, that "*En général, quand la liberté a manqué aux hommes, c'est la religion qui s'est chargée de la remplacer.*" But the crowning service yet remains to be performed. The reinstatement of the serfs in their natural rights, cannot be effected without a violent transition, and though all abuse of new-born liberty may be avoided, and the consequent excitement lost in the enthusiasm of the contemporaneous war for national independence, (for these two events are inextricably connected together,) still to prevent all excesses, to allay animosities, to prepare and regulate the grant and the exercise of freedom, will become the task of the ministers of God. Thus the Poles must look on their Church, as not only the keeper, to whose safeguard the unity and the nationality of their dismembered country has been entrusted, but also as the guardians and protectors of their social reorganization.*

The Polish peasant is not without superstition. The belief in hidden treasures amuses his fancy, excites his hopes, and but too often ruins his little fortune. But the most obnoxious and fatal consequences of his superstition are perceptible in his aversion to have recourse to medical aid, in case of serious illness. He considers the noble art of Esculapius as a wicked invention of the Germans,—for such is the term which he undistinguishingly applies to all foreigners. The Polish peasant will more readily travel a hundred miles in quest of supernatural aid, than take advice of an experienced physician. With him, Cuvier would find his eloquence at fault; Cooper, with his art and instruments, might find himself in the dangerous position of being taken for a sorcerer; Hahnemann would not stand a better chance;—but no, we beg

* The following division of the inhabitants f Poland, with respect to religion, will be found correct.

Catholics	8,560,000
Greeks united	3,740,000
Greco-Russians	3,430,000
Protestants	2,250,000
Jews	2,110,000
Old-believers	180,000
Mahometans	50,000

pardon of the learned visionary, his system of infinitely small doses, and homœopathic drugs, would find more docile adepts amidst Polish peasantry, than the astonishing cures of his soberer brethren; for be it said, to his astonishment or confusion, his precepts have been there long known and practised, as it may be conjectured from the two following modes of treating a patient. The peasant labouring under fever, inflammatory disease, or nervous complaint, will nevertheless have recourse to his customary medicine, a large cup of whisky, in which he mixes up a handful of ground charcoal; so, in the same manner, he uses for all maladies a mixture of whisky with honey, which he takes in infinitely small doses. Yet the peasant is not deaf to the voice of reason, and enlightened proprietors have latterly done much for the diffusion of better information. The blissful influence of religion will be traced in his morals and habits. His hospitality, charity to the poor, good faith in contracts and obligations, reverence to the aged, religious scruple in paying tithes, could not have a nobler origin, or a stronger stimulus, than in his attachment to the religion of his fathers. Theft, robbery, murder, are almost unknown among the communities of labourers. There are but few vast forests round which the dread or the exploits of Polish moss-troopers have drawn a circle of terror; Polish Shinderhanses or Fra Diavolos have seldom sprung from the peasants; they had been Jews, innkeepers, or such loose characters, as live, by art or extortion, upon the labour of others. But the alternation of light and shade in the character of the Polish people, the intermixture of good qualities with some failings, and, above all, the prevalence of the former, and the preservation of genuine benevolence and genuine simplicity of manners, are most manifest in their customs, rites, and amusements. For this we must see the Pole "at home;" we must stoop to enter through the low door of his hut, and take place at his hospitable though smoky hearth.

We will now introduce our readers to a Polish village. On emerging from a thick wood of stately oaks or lofty firs, in which Poland so much abounds, our eye is pleasantly struck with a wide expanse of corn-fields, whose rich exuberance agreeably contrasts with the dark wall of the circumvening forest. A multitude of villages, separated by large tracts of land, may reveal to the traveller the richness of the country; but, for the sake of simplifying our image, we admit the existence of one only, the commonest case in Poland. Encased in the irregular circumference of a forest, secluding

it from other villages for many miles round, it forms a world of its own: it possesses its distinct history, its peculiar customs. That separate individuality, if we may use the term, strikes most in the variety of dress. A peasant, proud of his dark woollen capote, would think it a degradation and disrespect to the memory of his forefathers, were he to put on the white one peculiar to the neighbouring village. With like feeling, his wife, or daughter, piques herself upon the particoloured petticoat; while in the bordering community, the white is preserved with religious strictness. But with this exception the Polish villages bear a family likeness. The gently sloping ground, from the two opposite sides, meets in the centre in soft declivity; or a double range of steep hills, whose irregular lines reveal the winding course of a stream—the presiding genius of the village, the regulator upon which the different degrees of rural life and activity are marked. The road closely follows its banks. At first we enter on a succession of meadows, studded with innumerable herds of cattle, feeding to the tune of the shepherd's pastoral reed, whose melancholy tones, animating a romantic scene, often make the Pole exclaim,

"Auch ich war in Arkadien gebohren." *

Thus far the scenery represents more the silent calmness of Claude's landscapes, than the busy throng of Teniers' pictures; more of Metastasio's *monti ameni*, than of Byron's dreary wildernesses. Soon, however, we are led over numerous bridges; the range of willows grows closer; at every step a path, leading to a plank over the stream, bids us to look up, and we find ourselves between two lines of habitations, first dispersed like scouts, and then closing in a connected line. Ushered into the midst of them by the course of our bright companion, we ride many a mile before we reach the centre. Here, in this central point, we must part with our leader, for its waves disappear in the wide expanse of a lake or pond. That lowest "degree" is marked by the mill, whose regular rattle, amid the uniform silence of the scene, may be compared to the pulsation of the great artery, if, after the elegant expression of a French writer, we call the bright mirror of the lake, "the soul of the village." On our right a modest church rears its white walls; while on the left, a dismal inn invites weary travellers to repose. The proximity of the abode of piety with the den of revelry is common to all

* Schiller's "Et ego in Arcadia."

countries, but it is so universal in Poland, that a writer wittingly remarks, that there "wherever God erects a church, the devil, at the same time, builds an inn close by." On an elevated position, stands the manor of the lord, beside whose massy pile the low huts of the peasants appear "like children playing by the side of an aged nurse." Forbidden to enter it, to examine its structure and its armorial frontispiece—to inspect the natural riches of its garden, our task, like that of Moore's Peri, compels us to shun that gate, and seek, in the hut of misery, for the sigh of destitution, or the tear of pious resignation. On ascending the way, fenced by the hedges of two neighbouring gardens, the visitor will judge of the peasant's wealth, by the number of fruit-trees clustering round his house, and that of the bee-hives sheltered under their protecting branches. The hut itself, built of wooden planks, and almost hidden under a towering thatched roof, forms the starting point of a circle of buildings, which, from the height of a granary, gradually decrease into numerous stables, dwindling, in their turn, into pig-sties, the view of whose pinguid inhabitants would have gladdened the heart of "the Normandy Farmer," and made him unsay that sweeping assertion, "that, besides England and America, there was no country which he cared a straw about."* A narrow passage, leading to a back door opening on the garden, divides the building into two compartments, one of which is generally allotted to various agricultural implements, while the other is inhabited by the owner and his family. Two or three benches, a long table, and a single bedstead, scarcely leave in it sufficient space for all to move; while the luxury of a bed is only permitted to parents or the aged; the children must seek refuge for nightly repose in the hole, purposely framed, between the large clay stove and the wall. The beam crossing the middle of the roof, plays here the part of a household god: on it, different numbers, dates, and signs, are marked; on it the scythe,—an instrument in the time of peace, a weapon in that of war,—the net, and the clothes, hang in picturesque disorder. The images of saints, and consecrated garlands, reminding one often of the holly-decked walls of an English farm-house, are the only ornaments of the hut. Round the fire-place—for we are not in the Lithuanian hovel, whose fire being placed in the middle, the smoke fills the whole room, issuing only through the windows, or a hole

* "Cobbet's Register" for 1834.

made on purpose in the roof—the different paraphernalia of the peasant's kitchen, might tempt the eye or the palate of the stranger, mindful of the fat cattle and the "golden fruit" he saw on entering. But, alas! on removing the covers, and perceiving potatoes and milk, coarse gruel or cabbage-soup, his recollections will at once carry him to Ireland, where peasants breed cattle, supply the sister country with all luxuries of animal food, and yet themselves are obliged, from obvious causes, to subsist upon bread and potatoes. To their Polish prototypes' children, even the indulgence of "potatoe and point" is denied: a paste, made of half-ground corn, constitutes often their diurnal fare; grease and bacon are superfluities seldom to be enjoyed; while salt is an object of necessity, measured out to them with most careful parsimony. Yet we should not forget, that frequent exceptions will occur to prove that poverty is not universal, and testify the benevolent influence of right-minded landlords. A Polish peasant has been often enabled to purchase an independent fortune, and to rise to the station of a nobleman or a burgess. Loans of money between both parties are of daily occurrence. The custom of Polish nobles entrusting their children to the care and comfort of a peasant's house, is worthy of commendation; it strengthens mutually the ties of benevolence and friendship, and teaches the future lord to appreciate the poor man's merits and wants. As many as twenty servants have been found surrounding the board of a labourer. Six or seven cloth-looms, constantly at work, on a peasant's premises, have astonished a German traveller in Poland, obviously prepared to meet everywhere the most abject wretchedness. The Englishman, who, having suddenly fallen ill in a Lithuanian village, was obliged to accept the hospitality of a labourer, and received from his guest the offer of a glass of excellent Scotch ale, may be excused if, in the ravings of fever, he took it for a miracle; but his astonishment pleasingly informs us, that the name of England, and the use of its comforts, are not totally unknown in a Polish cabin.

In corroboration of our denial that misery among Polish peasantry has ever been so universal as some deluded defenders of Russia have stated, in order to prove that the lower classes in Poland derived great advantages from Russian dominion, we extract the following facts from a very interesting memoir on the late revolution in Lithuania:—

"Before the Russian occupation of Samogitia, that is, before

1794, the peasants, with few exceptions, not only enjoyed perfect liberty, holding lands by a written contract, commonly extending for three years, with the faculty, at the end of that period, to remove wherever they liked with their stores and chattels; but in the estates called starosties, and on church lands, they possessed, even by right of property, the buildings on their tenures, in common with all moveable goods. They paid to the landlords a yearly and consolidated rent, and, though they could not either transport or destroy the farm premises, they were free to sell or exchange, to cede or to under-lease, with the sole obligation of presenting the instrument, delivered to the new proprietor, for the ratification of the landlord, and its entry into the manorial inventory....Profitable and respected was that custom alike to the lords and the peasants, since it assured a secure income to the first, and the fruit of their labour to the second. The latter carried on an extensive commerce with the neighbouring sea-ports, in flax, linseed, hemp, corn, and other products of their fertile soil, as trade was not fettered by any oppressive restrictions. The fortune of many among them amounted to several thousand dollars. They used to send their sons to the public schools, and the university; not a few clergymen and learned professors having sprung from that humble class. The dowers of their daughters attracted often suitors of noble origin. Living in commodious and neat houses, they possessed every comfort, not even denying to themselves the use of foreign liquors and objects of luxury, with which it was their highest pleasure to treat guests and strangers. Children inherited from their parents by testament or natural transmission. Churches, monasteries, and the poor, were never forgotten by the pious labourers, and often were enriched with their legacies. This prosperous state of Samogitia terminated with its independence;—the iniquitous system of the conquerors, introducing into that country personal tax; imposing the novel mode of local registration, to bind for ever the peasant to the soil; enacting oppressive measures in relation to commercial licenses, and thus transferring trade from the hands of the labourer to those of the Jew; vexing the agriculturist, and holding him in constant jeopardy, by quartering soldiers in his house, and forcing him not only to feed the military, but even to transport their baggage,—a most unjust, uncertain, and undefined tax; finally, distributing large estates to Russian functionaries, whose stewards made fortunes by extortion and tyranny; that iniquitous system, I repeat, by subjecting the peasant to all these multifarious calamities, destroyed his prosperity, and changed the face of the country. Thus the people, bereft of their ancient privilege of selling and purchasing houses, lost the capital invested in their building; excluded from the pale of trade, their industry and competition for honest gain have been diminished; subjected to a tyrannical yoke, and seeing their property insecure, they began to contract the vices of indolence and drunkenness, and divest themselves of their dearest treasures—

activity and morals. How many houses, once sold or purchased for considerable sums, stand now tenantless and tottering! and if peasants, lately so free and industrious, inhabit them, supporting scarcely a wretched existence, they must execrate even the memory of the better past, since, for having been enrolled in the registration book with the empty title of free peasants, they are obliged to pay a double tax for it, without enjoying any liberty whatever. The emperor Nicholas has forbidden the Poles, by an ukase, even to dream of the emancipation of the peasants; interdicted to their children the access to schools and the university;—to all public offices; closed against them the door of church dignities, and even of monastic seclusion; and for ever incapacitated them from rising in the army beyond the grade of a common soldier."

We cannot resist the pleasure of quoting from the same work, a few examples of the prosperity and customs of the Samogitian peasants before 1794.

"During the time of the confederation of Bar, prince Alexander Sapieha, forced to emigrate into Prussia, visited for the first time in his life his fine estate in Samogitia. It was on Sunday that he arrived incognito in his castle. While he was reposing from fatigue, several persons, in splendid Polish dresses, girded with gold-woven sashes, alighted at the door from fine bred steeds, and entered the prince's room without ceremony. Taking them for some of the neighbouring gentry, he received them with the honours due to brother nobles. After awhile the steward entered, and when he informed him that they were only peasants of the village, come, as it was customary, to talk on their respective affairs on a Sunday afternoon, the prince, astonished, and at the same time delighted with their manners and appearance, snatched a piece of paper, and in a moment of noble generosity, wrote on it, 'that never, under any pretext, the rent of the labourers of that estate should be increased.' That instrument was preserved by the grateful people with religious reverence, till the time of the revolution.

"In the domain of the Starost Karp, the peasants used, on every visit of their beloved landlord, to offer costly presents separately to him, his wife, and his daughters. The most solemn, ingenious, and perhaps the most sumptuous, festivity of that sort took place in the carnival of 1788. Long before the appointed day, a large body of artificers and sailors, expressly brought from distant ports for that occasion, were engaged in building a magnificent ship. Laid on a pair of huge sledges, and drawn by four-score horses, carefully concealed in the bottom, the ship entered the court yard on the long expected Sunday; and sailing, with full-spread canvass on her two lofty masts, and displaying the flag, richly embroidered with the arms and the initials of the lord, alongside the windows of the castle, stopped at its chief entrance. On its deck a well-trained chorus and a chosen band, rung the merry peal. The senior peasants

dressed as sailors, issued then from the cabins, and exclaiming to the tune of the music; *Long live our good lord!* landed the cargo of precious merchandize and foreign wine. The Starost, as it may be well thought, was moved to tears by that token of their attachment. The festivity lasted the whole night; the old cellar poured out its long treasured stores, and dance and joy marked every moment of that memorable day. That winter navigation was repeated on the following Tuesday, with the difference, that the ship sailed at night along the roadside splendidly illuminated, and the crew was totally composed of women; who, dressed in French and English costumes, presented to their lady and her daughters, costly articles of the manufacture of those two countries. Rockets and fireworks, issuing from the deck, terminated that ceremony, the account of which is still repeated in sundry and diffrent versions.

"That good-heartedness and liberality of the Samogitian agriculturists, a steward of count P—'s estates, turned once to a less showy but more profitable account. Having married a young and very beautiful girl, he purposely kept her confined to her rooms, and closely guarded her from the curious eye of the villagers. The latter, however, urged by the mysterious report of the extraordinary beauty of the lady, and wishing to offer her the customary presents, prevailed at last on the cunning steward, and wrung from him the promise of shewing his wife. On the appointed day, the whole community assembled at the door of the mansion. But under the pretext that the fair one was too delicate, and could not bear the heat of the crowd, the tender husband admitted them only one by one. The lady sat behind a table, on which a large plate was placed. The peasant who in the crowd would have only given a single piece of money, standing under the influence of the charms of the fair sorceress, and confused at being left alone, exposed to her basilisk eye, could not but empty all his purse into the capacious bottom of the plate. The stratagem succeeded so well, that its contriver soon became rich, the proprietor of a neighbouring village."

These details, corroborated by unquestionable evidence, and by corresponding records of prosperity in other provinces of the country, will triumphantly disprove the hackneyed allegations of utter misery among the Polish people. On the contrary, they will place, in bold contrast, the past, with the present state of the peasants. It may be justly alleged that they bear the character of exceptions, but the wanderer on the rich and grassy plains of Vothynia, or among the romantic hills of Cracovia, will find them sometimes grow into the importance of a general rule. Comfort, under the humble garb of abstinence, riches without the showy appearance of luxury, will there attract his step, and make him bless the state of society, where corruption and sordid love of gain have not yet

imprinted the stamp of conceit and selfishness. Nevertheless, though thus far we thought proper to correct an erroneous impression, it would be in vain to deny, that at present, and chiefly in Russian Poland, large tracts of uncultivated land and cases of general destitution, will frequently occur. Even in the kingdom of Poland, justly considered as the centre of prosperity, a considerable portion of landed property remains untouched by the hand of industry.* Whole communities depend, for their subsistence, on the more or less abundant crop of the year, without even laying aside some reserve for the season of sterility. Squalid misery, peeping from huts half sunk in the ground, shows its hideous face amidst fields which a little care would render fertile. Along that wilderness, mocking man with its exuberance of unsown harvest, only few habitations will be met with, and at so great distances, that they look, in the words of La Mennais, "*comme les jours de repos dans la vie.*" If by chance a cluster of dingy hovels attracts the eye for a moment, it appears, on a closer inspection, like a heap of ruined habitations, which war and desolation had no time to destroy totally, in their hasty passage. "Like

* The following calculation may be relied upon, as extracted from official documents:—

KINGDOM OF POLAND,
AS CONSTITUTED BY THE TREATY OF VIENNA.

*Square miles.**	*Forests.*	*Cultivated land.*	*Fallow land.*
2,270.4	650.9	924.8	694.7

To give at the same time an idea of the division of the inhabitants in the kingdom according to the different employment of their industry, we extract, from the same source, the data, which have been ascertained by a census in 1830.

Agriculturists	2,916,113	Clergy	10,914
Workmen	482,820	Teachers, physicians, advocates, artists	15,614
Labourers	280,188	Inmates of prisons	2,905
Servants	80,815	Ditto of hospitals	14,419
Tradesmen	193,870	Emerited	3,019
Soldiers	40,000	Without any profession	12,367
Civil functionaries	27,357		
Functionaries employed by landlords	47,878	Total	4,128,289

The population of the other provinces of dismembered Poland may be divided according to the same scale; and in fact few, if any, departures from it will be found, on making separate investigations.

The whole extent and the population of Poland, is thus stated in a celebrated statistical work.

	Square miles.	*Persons.*	*Inhabitants on a square mile.*
In Russia	11,292	15,417,389	1365
Prussia	1,664	2,584,124	1552
Austria	1,528	4,226,969	2,768
Cracow	21	107,934	4,663
Total	14,505	22,336,416	10,348

* *i. e.* Polish miles, fifteen to a geographical degree.

the skeleton of a village, (in the quaint words of the same writer,) resembling, in its half hidden decay, a corpse, whom its flying companions, in their retreat, could not inter completely." Such is the sad aspect of a country, in which foreign and exterminating tyranny has succeeded to the too long continued, but still mild misrule of its native oligarchy. Such will be also the state of the whole of Poland, if Europe does not check the destroying power which calls forth all its barbarous energies, to carry into effect the words that courage and despair had wrung from the Poles, when they said in their manifesto: "And if we are destined to perish, Russia shall add only another desert to its dominions." In parting with a subject so full of important considerations, we must express our regret that we have been so little able to bring the customs, usages, and rites of the Slavonians, into something like a general and comprehensive delineation. But we trust that the merit of that race, old in Europe, but new to a great portion of it, will command a stricter inquiry, if not as to its future rise from degradation, at least into the causes of its misfortunes. And how much more important grows that task, when we consider that we are perhaps on the eve of witnessing and recording the reorganization of the Slavonian race.

"The wheel of changing time," says the writer,* whose masterly delineation of the ancient Slavonians we have quoted, "revolves incessantly; and as the different nations of Slavonian origin, inhabit for the most part the finest country of Europe, if it were cultivated, and its trade opened; this now deeply sunk, but once industrious and happy people, will at length awake from their long and heavy slumber, shake off the chains of slavery, enjoy the possession of their delightful lands, and celebrate on them their ancient festivals of peaceful trade and industry."

Art. III.—1. *First and Second Report on the Commercial Relations between France and Great Britain.* By John Bowring, Esq.

2. *Enquiry into divers Prohibitions upon the Introduction of Foreign Goods; dating from the* 8*th Oct.* 1834; *under the Presidency of Mr. Duchatel, Minister of Commerce.* Paris, 1835.

VERY important negotiations have recently been commenced at Paris. England named three commissioners,

* Herder.

—Messrs. Labouchere, Ashton, and M'Gregor. MM. Freville, Greterin, and Davie, are the three who have been appointed by France. They will have to consider the question of an entire revision of the Custom-house duties of both countries; and, entirely pacific as is the object of the conference, they will be compelled to touch upon the most delicate political questions of our epoch. We sincerely hope that the fullest success may crown their labours. When it is remembered, that the commerce of the two richest nations in the world—including goods imported and exported, but leaving out of the account illicit trading—does not, on an average year, exceed the trifling value of three millions and a half; when it is considered, moreover, that these two nations are only separated by a narrow arm of the sea, and that each produces materials which the other is obliged to bring from a distance, at a loss either in quality or price,—one would suppose that their commercial plenipotentiaries would find no difficulty in the adjustment of a tariff which should be equally beneficial to both. Such, at least, would be the opinion of any reasonable being, who, in singleness of purpose, desired to benefit the two nations, without closely considering the private interests which might be in opposition to the common welfare; and to which (in France especially) the interests of the majority have been so long and so cruelly sacrificed. But a system of monopoly and prohibition is vicious, not only from the harm it does, but from the inherent vitality which renders its abolition so difficult; for, after long continuance, it creates fortunes, and powerful influence, and gives rise to habits that render innovation almost impossible. Those who have possessed themselves of long established privileges, will not give them up; and those who suffer most by them, do not consider that they might be overthrown. The one party levy a tax upon their fellow-citizens, and consider it their own by as good a title as their estates and their houses; and the other submits to the oppression with resignation equal to that of the Mussulman to the decrees of inevitable fatality. Our commissioners will, therefore, stand in need of as much patience as skill: and if we do not consider all—even trifling success—as hopeless, it is, because the French themselves have lately begun to awaken from the torpor. In despite of many natural disadvantages, they have chosen to enter into rivalship with us in the production of manufactured goods, for which they have no market, except in their miserable colonies; and thus, they already experience the disasters which so often check our industry—those gluts which are the inva-

riable attendants on an over-abundant production; and the financial crises resulting from them have compelled our neighbours to enquire into the causes of calamities which are as frequent on their side of the channel as on ours. Happily, the discovery of one error leads to that of others; and thus, by degrees, the manufacturers, who have been protected by the prohibitory system, have perceived that the market they were enabled to monopolize was too confined for their activity; while the agriculturists and the manufacturers, who were not favoured by the system, have become aware of the great injury they sustained from it. All are now agreed, that the laws by which the commercial policy of France is governed, are entirely at variance with all the principles of wise political economy. If the French cotton-spinners and iron-work masters, for instance, are still timid; if they still tremble at the idea of our goods being admitted into the only portion of the globe where they hitherto have found a certain market,—the wine-merchants and silk-manufacturers, on the other hand, have fully comprehended the advantage that might result from it.

A reasonable freedom of commerce, is, therefore, acquiring devoted partizans amongst our neighbours; and it is through them, and by an appeal to their interests, well understood, that we shall succeed, sooner or later, in forming with France, the only sort of alliance which will not be at the mercy of national prejudice, party spirit, or a change of ministry.

It is impossible that France should not acknowledge, that she has fallen from the high rank she held in Europe up to 1814. For more than two centuries she had been the political rival of England: and these two nations, the most powerful in the world, after the weakening of the Spanish monarchy, disputed with each other for a supremacy to which no other people even thought of laying claim. From the death of Charles V, to the first taking of Paris, they were natural enemies, because the fall of one must have secured to the other a high political dominion over the civilized world; and it is in human nature to aspire to universal dominion, when the imagination sees nothing impossible in attaining to it. History proves, that French statesmen have yielded to these dangerous and seductive hopes; but the time for such illusions is passed for them, and whatever may be the secret sighs of their ambition, we do not think that any reflecting mind can suspect them of indulging in the hope of renewing the tremendous contest so fatal to Napoleon. England has retained

her ancient position—France has lost hers, and Russia has seized upon it. In these few words lies a whole political revolution, for Russia is now our political enemy, by the operation of that same principle which formerly invested France with this character. It is, therefore, for our own interest, that our relations with this latter power should change with the state of Europe; and we shall commit a fault that our latest posterity will not pardon, if we ever lose sight of the fact—that the nation which has formerly disputed with us the first rank in the world, can no longer, it is true, snatch from us the pre-eminence we have bought with so much blood and treasure, but that she can powerfully contribute to our losing it, by lending the assistance of her strength to the only power we have to fear. Less formidable now than under Napoleon, her situation gives a greater value to her alliance than belonged to it in the days of her military glory. With her, we may dictate our own terms to Russia,—without her, Russia will become the most dreadful enemy that has ever yet assailed the fortunes of Great Britain. It would be weakness to flatter ourselves that France is not aware of the advantages she may derive from circumstances so favourable to political coquetry; and so long as diplomatic promises are our only pledges of her fidelity, we shall be constantly on the eve of a conflict in which she might take part against us with the greatest ease, as she would be required only to take a secondary part. In the present state of things, the event of a war in the east would oblige us either to buy the friendship of France, by allowing her an increase of territory that might hereafter be dangerous, —or, to be on our guard against a suspicious neutrality. What can we then offer her beyond what Russia would be glad to give, if we have not had the timely wisdom to conciliate to ourselves the good will, not of the government, but of the people of France? The most solemn treaties are set aside without difficulty, when national interest, or even the interest—well or ill understood—of the government, is in opposition to the faithful execution of them: the only permanent alliances are those which are based on the interests of a majority of the community; for, in that case, public opinion opposes their violation—and that not for a day, at the caprice of a few influential men, and while they continue in power—but from generation to generation, in spite of the caprices of the sovereign and his ministers, in spite even of the changes of events. Thus, if France found an advantageous market for her agricultural produce in England, such an extensive commercial intercourse

would rapidly eradicate all existing prejudices; and the 20,000,000 of Frenchmen, who would be indebted to us for the comforts they would then enjoy, would themselves, and through their representatives in the legislative assembly, offer us such a pledge of friendship, and such a full security, as would enable Great Britain, in her calculations for the future, to rely upon retaining their country as her truest ally. Our plenipotentiaries would not then be obliged to make their appeal to the constantly changing, and often ill understood necessities of French politics. France would be faithful to us, not for fear of the harm our navy could do her in case of war, not on account of the dangerous ambition of the autocrat, nor even from the sympathy natural to people living under a representative government: doubtless, these motives would continue to influence her strongly in our favour; but her fidelity to us would mainly rest upon a far more solid basis;—upon the growing fortunes and progressive welfare of the most influential and numerous classes, who would be obliged to maintain the alliance with England under penalty of losing the advantages they derived from it. Thus the commissioners assembled at Paris, will render the two nations an immense service, even in a political point of view, if they are able by fortunate innovations to procure for them the benefit of a flourishing commerce. It is incontestable, that if true freedom of commerce existed between France and England, each would be the other's best customer: in the first place, because, next to that of England, the market of France is the best in the world; and in the second, because from the very different nature of their principal productions, they have abundant elements for a mutually profitable exchange. The advantages to be obtained by taking off all prohibitory duties are obvious; but the great impediment to every arrangement arises from the fact, that in France especially, the minority to whom the present state of things is favourable, would suffer greatly from a change by which their branches of trade would be affected, and themselves compelled by necessity to give to their industry and capital a new direction liable to all the risks of uncertainty. This minority is truly formidable, for the town of Paris is its real centre, and it consequently comes into immediate contact with the government, of which also many members are personally interested in maintaining privileges, which are ruinous to the nation at large. A single example will suffice to show how much France loses by the system she has adopted, and how difficult it will be for her to give it up.

From 1815 to 1839, that is to say, for twenty-four years, the annual value of the cotton goods manufactured by France, cannot be calculated upon an average as less than £20,000,000 sterling, and M. Thiers states it at £24,000,000 (600,000,000 of francs). Of this enormous quantity, she exports to her colonies or elsewhere, as fancy goods, to the amount of £1,800,000, and therefore her home consumption cannot fall short of £18,000,000 sterling. Taking this as an average, we can safely assert that our manufacturers could have supplied an equal quantity of cotton goods full 30 per cent. cheaper; that is, for the annual sum of £12,600,000, and thus, have yearly either thrown into the French treasury in the shape of duties, or spared to the French people £5,400,000. Now, if we multiply this sum by the number of years that have elapsed since the last peace, that is, by twenty-four, we shall find, that the prohibitory system in one single case has already cost France a sum total of £129,600,000, a sum which would now be sufficient to liquidate the national debt of that country!!! But the direct tax thus levied by the French cotton manufacturers upon their countrymen has been less fatal to them than the indirect loss it has occasioned. In exchange for the £12,600,000 worth of cotton goods obtained from England, England would have purchased French goods to an equal amount, and wines, silks, and generally the staple manufactures of France, would have been encouraged to an unprecedented extent. But the commercial prejudices and antipathies entertained since the days of Colbert, prevailed over the better judgment of our neighbours; and the prohibitory system, notwithstanding its avowed inefficiency as a warlike engine, was continued with unabated rigour by the Bourbons. Thus the French cotton manufactories retained full possession of the home market, and rapidly encreased in numbers to the great and lasting injury of the French staple manufacturers. An enormous capital has been gradually sunk in speculations connected with the cotton trade, and a most powerful combination, established as it were, for the express purpose of upholding the disastrous system under which only it can live and flourish. It includes not only the parties immediately concerned in the monopoly, but also the monied interest of France—the Parisian bankers, and many other wealthy individuals—either as lenders to, or as share-holders in the cotton factories. If we take into consideration that the same system called into existence many other manufactories whose fate is deeply involved in the negotiations now pending at Paris, we

shall be able fairly to form a general estimate of the difficulties our commissioners will have to overcome, if they succeed in obtaining a complete revisal of the French tariff. Nothing short of its thorough reformation could justify such concessions on the part of England, as would ensure to France an ample compensation for the modifications she would make; because, nothing short of a free access to both markets, can so entwine the commercial interest of the two countries, as to preclude the future possibility of a political secession. It would be absurd to suppose that with the liberty of the press, the legislative influence of the people, and the immense interests which would be opposed to any change in the system of custom-house duties, France will ever consent to compromise the existence of a considerable part of her trading capital, if she does not see clearly and distinctly that her losses will be amply made up to her by the far greater profits she would derive in the English markets for produce of a different kind. Our commissioners could not expect to obtain terms exclusively favourable to their own country; and we, on our part, should be obliged to make some great sacrifices, which, however, would be far from being so heavy as those required from France. The works we have mentioned at the head of our article throw great light upon this double question, and though they have been some time published, we do not hesitate to affirm, that they contain the most complete and interesting documents which have yet appeared upon the state of French industry in its relations with our own. But, before commencing an enquiry which we cannot carry out without touching upon the important question of the corn laws, it will be useful to take a rapid survey of the means by which the Bourbons, in spite of the gratitude they owed to England, were induced to uphold the system which Napoleon had borrowed from the old French statesmen, although by him it was carried so far, as to become an actual blockade of the continent. The reader will see that the Bourbons were not alone to blame; we also contributed to the errors of these unhappy princes by preferring our political sympathies to our commercial affinities. The abolition of the rights of primogeniture and of entails, together with the sale of the estates of the nobles and the church, has indefinitely multiplied the number of landholders, and almost destroyed the landed interest. According to official documents, one-thirtieth of the land annually changes owners by sales alone, and thus the influence acquired by the long continuance in a family of the same

estates, and the local and mutual attachments which result from it, are as much unknown on the other side of the channel, as on the other side of the Atlantic. Few of our readers are unacquainted with this merciless and fatal subdivision; but however sensible they may be of its injurious effects so far as the cultivation of the soil is concerned, few perhaps are aware of its mischievous influence upon the general comforts of by far the largest portion of the French people.

We are informed by M. Charles Dupin, that two-thirds at least of the population owe their subsistence to agriculture, and consequently, under a government which at least in theory is that of the majority, it might be expected that all regulations internal and external, would be made conducive to the permanent and preponderating interests of agriculture. But it is indispensable for the obtaining this object, that there should be union amongst the agriculturists, large landed properties to serve as a point of union to the smaller ones, and to diffuse a spirit of combination, and a knowledge of their real necessities; all, in short, that the manufacturing interests already possess. For the great master manufacturers, through the influence they can use with those in their employment, and the compactness of their body, which is limited by the difficulty of acquiring such a large capital as is now requisite for forming part of it, can easily combine amongst themselves and give one uniform impulse to the class which they represent. Paris too—Paris with all her pleasures, the seat of the court and the government, attracts and retains within her walls the few families yet possessing large estates; to whose vices, ambition, or indolence, she offers irresistible attractions.

The deplorable condition of the landed interest is rendered worse by the fact, that the feeble remnants of the French gentry are royalists, and on that account, unpopular among the smaller proprietors, their natural friends and dependants. All these causes have combined hitherto in neutralizing the legitimate influence of the agricultural classes, and by weakening and disorganizing them, left them at the mercy of the mercantile classes, whenever an important measure came under discussion, as in the case of the tariff of customs. It would appear at first sight as if at the restoration, its friends, who were almost exclusively landholders, would have given their attention to raising and protecting the landed interest; but the courtiers of Louis XVIII, when they returned with him from exile, were chiefly fascinated by the prospect of repairing their fortunes by launching out upon the golden sea

of mercantile enterprise. Even Louis himself, who, during his stay in England, had become acquainted with the prodigies of our industry, forgot to take into account the differences betwixt the two countries, and thought himself performing an act of patriotism when he perpetuated the system of monopolies which he found established. Thus, the French manufacturers obtained all that they wanted, and the prohibitions which are still closing the markets of France against our goods, were rigorously enforced. It is but just to add, that in England, public opinion ran strongly in favour of the French liberal party, that is to say, of the monopolizing party — of that party, which was of necessity adverse to our commerce and our manufacturers. We are far from contesting the abstract justice of this preference, and our readers will be widely mistaken if they suppose us the partizans of absolutism ; but it is not the less true, that in the choice of their continental friends, the manufacturers of Great Britain have shown their disinterestedness, which may have been carried too far. France in 1815, was as now, divided into two great parties, manufacturing and agricultural, each of which required foreign markets for their superfluous produce. If we set aside minor details, and omit the cases in which an article whether manufactured or agricultural, serves as an exchange against some other article, likewise either manufactured or the produce of the soil, we shall clearly see that countries exclusively manufacturing or exclusively agricultural, cannot be profitable customers to one another. The only trade which is truly lucrative and really extensive, is obviously that which is carried on between nations, whose staple commodities are of a different order; and the slightest reflection on the natural consequences of this self-evident axiom, should have sufficed to make us understand, that by throwing the weight of our sympathy into the scale of the French liberals, we gave strength to the monopolizing party. Whom did the Lafittes, the Benjamin Constants, the Foys, and the other leaders of the opposition represent? The manufacturers of Paris, Rouen, St. Quentin, and Alsace. It might be generous to applaud the efforts of the eloquent pleaders in favour of liberty ; but England would have shewn more prudence, had she remembered that these champions of freedom were the bitter opponents of free trade. The fundamental maxim of their political economy, was, that their country should, with the exception of raw material, receive nothing from foreigners, and certainly they made no deviation from the rule, in favour of their Manchester admirers. Such were

the consequences resulting from the strange contradictions, between the political interests, and the commercial welfare, of the different parties in the two countries. The Tories sympathized with the royalists of France; the Whigs and Reformers, with the Liberals; or to class them more generally, the agriculturists took part with the agriculturists, the manufacturers with the manufacturers. And thus, without being ourselves aware of it, we contributed powerfully, though indirectly, to increase the obstacles by which already our goods were prevented from entering France. Could we in fact take a more unadvised course, than to assist rival manufacturers in obtaining political power? Where was the good sense of John Bull, when, to persuade our neighbours to abandon the prohibitory system, he had recourse to the assistance of their cotton weavers? We then fell into a grievous error, and adopted a line of policy, which could only tend to render it more and more impossible for us to form a commercial alliance with France. It is full time for the advantage of both countries, that we should retrace our steps. Were France and England to conclude a treaty analogous to that which unites the different members of the Prussian league, and by which the agricultural and manufactured produce of each country is freely admitted into the others, without payment of duty, the French wine and corn growers, printers and lithographers, manufacturers of silks, porcelain, cambric, and the finer description of stuffs, would derive an immense advantage from it, while the masters of iron works, cotton weavers, &c. would lose enormously. The change would be profitable for the French landed interest, and for the comparatively small portion of artizans, who work with more taste and economy in their particular branches of industry, than ours; but to all other artizans, a great loss; for being no longer protected in the monopoly of their own market, they could not support our competition. We do not recommend these conditions; but it is certain that every modification of their respective tariffs must bring them nearer to this state of things, and in a greater or less degree must be followed by these results. The plainest dictates of common sense require therefore, that we should appeal,—not to those classes who would lose every thing by a more extensive commercial alliance with Great Britain, but to the obvious interest of the classes who would thereby be largely benefited. These are our natural auxiliaries, and it would be unwise in us, not to raise them by all means in our power, from their present undue abasement; and to en-

deavour to create an English party from the mighty elements in which they abound. An English party in this sense, that it would clearly see, that without derogating from the national honour and dignity, it might and ought to use its influence for the avowed purpose of overthrowing those obstacles, which now hamper, or indeed render impossible, any extensive intercourse between the nations. It concerns us little what might be the views taken by such a party, of the internal policy of France; whether its sympathies inclined to the elder branch of the Bourbons, or to the Republic, provided that it took for its device, free trade with England, and admission, under moderate duties, of the produce of those manufactories that employ the greater part of our workmen. And if the great bulk of the sincere Catholics in France, the agriculturists and silk weavers of the south, are led by their position to join this party, is that any reason for our not affording them all the assistance in our power? No doubt the duty of our commissioners is to study with care, the real interests of whatever classes are predisposed to second them, in their arduous attempt to offer the largest concessions that England can reasonably make, and to give to these offers every possible publicity. Thus, those interests which harmonize with ours from their very dissimilarity, the producers, whose commodities we can take from France, because we do not produce them ourselves, or only under disadvantages, and in insufficient quantities, will have notice of our intentions; and happily there never was a more favourable moment than the present, for the creation of such a party. The French agriculturists are awakening from their lethargy, the "enquiry" before us is one striking proof of this. Something like what is going on in the United States, is now taking place amongst our neighbours. As on the other side of the Atlantic, the departments of the south are jealous of the supremacy of the departments of the north, where Paris is situated, and complain bitterly that in all questions relating to customs, they are, and have always been, unpityingly sacrificed to their rivals. Where the system of government is to centralize all power, to a degree unknown elsewhere, and by means of which, the local interests of the smallest village are determined upon by a minister resident in the capital; those who reside near this centre of government, have of necessity an immense advantage over those, whose abode is more distantly situated. And southern France owes to this circumstance, a neglect fatal to her welfare, and of which she is now fully conscious. M. Charles Dupin,

in 1825, stated her population at 17,284,021, while that of northern France at the same period, amounted only to 13,167,166. Southern France is eminently agriculturalist; and if the bulk of the inhabitants, setting aside the political divisions which neutralize their influence, were to choose some common interest as their watchword, they would easily obtain the full redress of all their grievances. In order to secure to the manufacturers of the north, the undisputed possession of the home market, the French government created the bulwark of protecting duties, and prohibitive regulations, and England was obliged to make reprisals, which were all to the prejudice of the wine-growers, and silk-weavers of the south; we punished them for the privileges granted to their disadvantage, by loading their commodities with such enormous taxes, as amounted almost to the closing of our ports against them. As often happens, those who were not in fault, suffered for those who were; but in the present instance, if the departments of the south are not yet fully aware of the cause of their distress, at any rate they now see clearly, that their northern neighbours, although less numerous, are deriving the chief advantages from their mutual association; and some recent facts shew plainly how little encouragement on our part would be necessary, to give to their discontent a direction extremely favourable to our manufactures. We will quote but one. In the session of 1837-8, the French ministers demanded from the chambers, authority to open, at the expense of the state, several lines of railroad, of which, the most important were to intersect the northern provinces. They met the most pertinacious resistance from the deputies from the south, who protested against a measure, which, for the sole profit of the northern provinces, would load the whole of France with enormous expenses; it became necessary to have recourse to the system of companies; while at the same time, the deputies from the south carried, almost by force, a law for the construction of a canal, to run parallel with the Garonne; for that river, not being navigable up to Toulouse, the noble Languedoc canal, leading from that city to the Mediterranean, has hitherto been rendered useless. The junction of the two seas by internal navigation, which Louis XIV intended, has not taken place, and the canal now projected for the benefit of the Frenchmen of the south, is doubly important, because in the first place, it shows the high position taken by the departments concerned in the measure; and in the second, this first success will render them only more eager to obtain far-

ther concessions of a like nature. The pecuniary encouragements given by Napoleon, and the strictness of the continental blockade, compensated in some degree to the French artizans, for the evil done them by the revolutionary war; their goods bore a high price, but from that very fact they were the better able to bear the heavy cost of transportation; and the market which they monopolized, was sufficient to consume all that they produced by their then imperfect machinery. Their profits in general were enormous, although raised upon such limited sales, as would make our great manufacturers smile with pity; and we may affirm, that if Napoleon's system was unfavourable to industry in general, it was eminently advantageous to the individuals who turned their attention to manufactures. But the wine growers, whose produce was of too heavy a description to be transported to any distance, without the help of water carriage, were far from being so prosperous. The great city of Bordeaux, whose trade became so flourishing after the treaty of 1786, paid dearly for the harvest which the manufacturers of the north were reaping from Napoleon's military triumphs. Proprietors and merchants were ruined, the value of land fell 75 per cent., and all parties detested the Emperor of the French, as the cause of their common distress. Here was the chief source of the enthusiasm of the Bordalese for the Bourbons, of their loyalty in 1814 and 1815, and of the ease with which a single detachment of English took possession of this great city. They ardently desired peace, that they might again send their wines to all parts of the world, and their hopes were partly realized during the first years after the restoration. They had, however, lost some of their old customers, for the Hungarian wines were now carried by the Elbe towards Hamburgh, and to the Baltic by the Oder; new habits also had been introduced; and cheaper beverages were sought for, than those formerly supplied from France. In one sense, then, peace revived the commerce of Bordeaux, for it was now revisited by merchant vessels, whereas during the war its port was desolate: still trade was languid, and from year to year, the rapid decay of its prosperity, as compared with that of Havre, was alarming. The works of Say, and his disciples in political economy, had become popular, and it required no great science on the part of the wine-growers and merchants, to discover that the law of 1816, regulating the new French tariff, was the real cause of their distress, by sanctioning all the prohibitory measures of Napoleon. England, to whom the tariff established at the restoration was so un-

favourable, and who since 1792 had raised the duty on French wines, from 3*s.* 9*d.* per gallon, to 11*s.* 5¼*d.*, retained it at this latter rate; and other countries responded to the prohibitory system, by duties so high, that they became interdictions. The exports, which before the revolution amounted to 100,000 casks, were rapidly falling off. They amounted to no more than 61,000 casks in 1820, and that number had decreased in 1837 to 38,000. The distress occasioned by the consequent decline in the price of Bordeaux wines and brandies, produced its natural effect. The inhabitants soon cooled in the fervour of their loyalty, and many were the petitions presented by them to the chambers, for obtaining alterations in the tariff, to which they justly attributed their ruin. In 1822, when new restrictions upon trade were voted, for the protection of the iron masters and the woolgrowers, the opposition of the departments of the south became serious. In the discussions which shortly afterwards took place, M. Basterechc, a Bayonne deputy, pronounced the following remarkable words:—

"If from an undue predilection for one part of the kingdom, the other part finds itself so wronged, that its reasonable and natural existence becomes compromised, the idea which inevitably forces itself upon those who suffer so severely, is to give up an association, the effects of which are thus become intolerable."

The feelings manifested in this speech recall to our minds, the perhaps prophetic words of a member of Congress in 1809, Mr. Thomas Pickering,—who exclaimed during the heat of those disputes which divided the United States into two parties, democrats and federalists, "Separate we shall; amicably if we can, forcibly if we must." However, in 1822, the consequences of the protecting system were not fully understood, and moreover, the wine-growers were as yet the only sufferers; but, since then, commerce,—in the true sense of the word,—and many branches of industry, are making the same complaint, and government have been obliged to pay some attention to the threatening clamour. It is in consequence of the incessant demands of some of the provinces, that M. Duchatel (a minister of commerce, who left office too soon for the prosperity of France), ordered the enquiry which is now before us; which, however, as a means of arriving at truth, cannot justly be compared to the enquiries ordered in England by Parliament, the French chambers not claiming any authority in these matters. The minister alone, or commissioners appointed by him, summon witnesses and receive their depositions, and, as these commissioners possess no judi-

cial authority, the result of their efforts depends on the good-will of those persons who give their testimony. In the present case, M. Duchatel instituted a special committee, under the name of the "High Board of Trade;" it consisted of seven peers, nine deputies, and nine bankers, manufacturers or public functionaries.

Now, it cannot be denied, that if circumstances constrained him to make this selection, it was an unfortunate one: for a large majority of the members were men inclined by their private interests to favour the cause of monopoly. On the 20th Sept. 1834, he addressed a circular to the Chambers of Commerce, established in the principal towns of the kingdom, desiring them to forward to the board their opinions and observations, in the first place, upon the good or bad effects of the prohibitory system considered as a whole; and in the next, if it should be judged necessary to modify the system, what should be the nature of the alterations made with respect to certain branches of industry, especially the manufactures of glass, china, plated goods, and woollen or cotton cloths. He at the same time gave notice, that the board would receive the evidence of all persons whose situation enabled them to throw light upon these important subjects. The chambers of commerce of seven sea-port towns and of twenty-eight manufacturing towns in the interior, the prefects of two departments, the receiver-general of Customs at Lille, and several special committees named by societies of manufacturers, were heard as to the principle of the existing prohibitions. We will consider first, this part of the enquiry, prefacing it with some general observations, which will serve to show which parties in France are the natural opponents or natural supporters of a commercial alliance with England. In former times, monopolies were generally granted to courtiers, who obtained the exclusive privilege of buying or selling certain commodities, and enriched themselves at the expense of the unhappy consumer. Occasionally, but seldom, monopolies were established for the benefit of a whole class of native producers; thank heaven, they are now unknown to us, except in this latter form, bad enough in itself, but more legitimate in its intention, since, in interdicting foreign produce by means of prohibitions or exorbitant duties, the object is the protection of national industry. England and France have vied with each other in the undesirable honour of this imprudent patriotism, which consists in preventing consumers from receiving their supplies from abroad, for the sake of imperfect or only begin-

ning manufactures at home. In every country where this mania for protecting duties has gained ground, the labourers, agricultural or manufacturing, may be divided into three classes; first, those who can produce at nearly the same price as their foreign competitors,—so that, light duties established not as a protection, but for the sake of the revenue, are sufficient to give them the command of the home market. Second, those who can so far undersell their foreign competitors, that not only they naturally command the monopoly of the home market, but export their goods to every market which is not closed against them by prohibitions or protecting duties; and thirdly, those who produce at so high a price, that they could not meet the competition of foreigners, even in the home market, without the protection of prohibitions or enormous duties.

The first class has certainly nothing directly to fear or to expect from a modification of the French tariff, but indirectly they must gain by a happy issue of the present negotiations, as the general prosperity of France would react upon them; we have, therefore, no opposition to fear on their part. It is evident that the second class is everywhere eager for freedom of trade, and, as in France, this class comprehends the wine-growers, that is to say, a population of nearly 3,000,000 persons, the silk weavers and a multitude of labourers in other inferior branches of industry; it will, when once convinced of its true interests, and when England has offered proper inducements, become sufficiently strong and active, to overthrow the principal barriers that have been raised between the two nations. We must not forget that this class amongst our neighbours, will be so much the stronger, as all the commercial interest will naturally join it. It is of little importance to the merchant or the shopkeeper, where he buys his goods, provided that he buys them at the lowest possible price, for it is in that case that his sales are most extensive and his profits most considerable. But the third class, on the contrary, has everything to lose by a change; as the superior cheapness of the works of foreign artizans, would soon enable them to obtain possession of the market hitherto exclusively their own, even supposing the goods to be admitted upon reasonable duties; no doubt the necessity which would arise in this case, of improving in their art, or giving it up altogether, would rouse them from the lethargy natural to the holders of a monopoly, and urge them to great perfection:— at least this would be the case with such of this class, as did

not seek more certain profits in freer, and of course more lucrative branches of commerce; but, after the most strenuous efforts, their success must be uncertain, and they must run great risks in order to obtain at last what the prohibitory system gave them without difficulty. We shall certainly be bad judges of the human heart, if we suppose that men so circumstanced will not resist to the utmost any attempt at innovation; and from causes before-mentioned, this class has, on the other side of the channel, a degree of influence quite out of proportion with its wealth and numerical strength. Is it not strange that the minister should have especially, almost exclusively, turned the attention of those whom he consulted towards branches of industry, which have hitherto legally monopolized the French market? Yet, M. Duchatel is favourable to the great principle of liberty of commerce, and, if he acted in this manner, it is because in 1834 the enquiry could not have been carried on except on this condition. This fact, in itself, shows the difficulties our commissioners will have to encounter, and which they can never overcome, while our sympathies shall keep in power the only class of men who are vitally interested in the maintenance of the prohibitory system. The principal manufacturers whose existence depends upon this system, are certainly those for cotton goods; for most woollen cloths, the iron-works and the coal mines. To hope to conciliate the good-will and parliamentary influence of their proprietors, is an error which has been popular in England, but which we must abandon if we hope to see the French market opened to us. The first part of the enquiry is dedicated to an examination into the effects of the prohibitory system; and the question propounded to the Chambers of Commerce may be reduced to nearly the following terms:—"Is it expedient, or not, to allow the introduction of all sorts of foreign goods, after laying upon them duties which may, if it is thought right, be high enough to afford sufficient protection to all the national manufactures which require it? The reader will see that the innovation proposed by M. Duchatel, amounted to very little; yet, even this slight change, the privileged classes opposed almost without exception. The commercial chambers of those towns where these manufacturers possess most authority, those of Rouen, Dunkirk, Amiens, Sedan, Roubaix, and Rennes in the north,—St. Etienne and Carcassone in the south, gave their opinion in the strongest manner for keeping up the prohibitory system; while the Commercial Chambers of Calais, Nantes, Strasbourg, Tours,

and Alençon in the north, and Marseilles in the south, preferred the adoption of high duties. The other chambers consulted by the ministry, went farther than this, for they represented the mercantile interest, or the interest of those manufactories which are now sacrificed to the monopolies of the privileged classes; and Boulogne, Havre, Metz, Arras, Vire, Bar-le-Duc, Rhetel and Orleans, in the north; and Lyons, Tarare, Grenoble, Saumur, Clermont-ferrand, Limoges, and Niort, demanded, not only the abandonment of the prohibitory system, but also that of protecting duties; maintaining, that the interest of the country, well understood, required, that no branch of industry should be protected by a monopoly, which, by provoking retaliation on the part of foreigners, necessarily injured the other producers of France. We must add, that the commercial chambers most opposed to the prohibitory system, were unanimous in demanding the suppression of taxes levied upon the importation of raw material, which, in France, are very heavy: cotton wool, for instance, pays a duty of 8*s*. 10*d*. the 100lbs.; the same quantity paying only 2*s*. 11*d*. on its entry into our ports. We have not mentioned Bordeaux amongst the towns which took part in this enquiry, for a reason which is highly important. The chamber of commerce, of this great city, protested solemnly against the manner in which the high board of trade was constituted—affirming, that the selection of its members offered no pledge of impartiality to the great interests of the south of France. But this protestation was accompanied by two memorials, one signed by the merchants of Bordeaux, the other, by the proprietors of the vineyards, in the department of the Gironde; and both defend their cause with a threatening energy. The following quotation is so important, that we will make no excuse for its length.

"The prohibitory system became the necessary corollary of the continental blockade.

"The north saw arise a crowd of manufacturers, whose produce was to supply the deficiencies of importation, now become impossible.

"War created this system—peace should have overthrown it; and if the restored family continued the destructive application of it to our country, it was from a political motive. The population of the north, adverse to their cause, required to be won over; the good-will of the people of the south appeared already secure.

"The empire and the restoration reaped in unpopularity what they had sown of deception and misery, throughout the south.

"In order to explain why, while condemning the prohibitory principle of the empire, he thinks proper to continue the mistake

of the protecting system of the restoration, the present minister alleges the rights that have been acquired, the immense capitals that have been invested on the faith of existing legislation, and the necessity of preserving national establishments from foreign competition. Never, we here declare it, have we asked for such an alteration in our system of custom duties, as would ruin the fortunes of individuals. What we demand, is a gradual and real approach, without commotion or disturbance, to an order of things more in harmony with the general interest.

"We wish that an upright government should comprehend, that it is not right to sacrifice to one part of the country, who reject importations, the interests of another part of the country, to whom they are necessary, as being the only condition upon which they can export.

"We wish the government to be convinced, that neither can the exigencies of our situation be met by changes of such slight importance, that they become mockeries. In a word; if the present cannot heal our wounds, we wish to be assured, that the day is not far distant when we shall enjoy an equal protection.

"For we, also, have immense capitals invested—acquired rights still more ancient—and a working population to support; will these considerations never serve, but as a weight in the balance? There is, also, in political economy, a *just medium;* and those who, for thirty years, have suffered severely, have a right to demand that others should now enjoy a somewhat less measure of prosperity. The north possesses, in fact, a territorial revenue about equal to that of the south. It contains forges and furnaces, mines, cattle, manufactories of cotton, manufactories of linens, manufactories of cloths, manufactories of beetroot sugar; in short, almost the whole of our manufacturing industry. All receive the most unreasonable protection, while our productive resources are overloaded with taxation.

"The seat of government is in the north; the inhabitants of the north are possessors of five-sixths of the public debt, and are creditors of France for the enormous sum of five milliards.

"In 1830, 60,000,000 francs were granted by the Chambers, for the relief of commerce and manufactures; hardly did a few *hundred thousands* reach the south; the capital, and the cities of the north, absorbed it all. More recently, 100,000,000 francs are voted for public works—the north draws the whole sum to itself, and the minister is compelled in his place to acknowledge, that *the south has been forgotten.* On the one hand, an accumulation of privileges, of wealth, of civilization,—on the other, exclusion from equal rights, misery, and retrogradation; such facts express more clearly than our words can do, the partiality of a legislation which has produced such results.

"Who does not see, in the constant triumph of the interests opposed to ours, the power of a formidable league?

"By it, government is importuned—its weakness, or blindness,

turned to account; it is compromised in the affections of the people. This league, is the coalition between the masters of iron-works, the proprietors of mines, of forests, of cattle, the manufacturers of the north; and it subjugates and binds to its fortunes all economical legislation. This coalition peoples the capital, and usurps the administration, which it governs by its influence; while we, far removed from the centre of government, can scarcely obtain a hearing for our voices, distant as they are, unsupported, and soon overpowered by our adversaries; who are, above all, skilful in obtaining for themselves the right to judge our complaints, and arbitrate upon our grievances.

"Having thus given a picture of our sufferings, and exposed the cause of our evils, we demand a modification of the tariff of customs, having for its basis, the principle of admitting foreign goods upon a moderate scale of duties.

"This modification should consist in an annually progressive decrease in the customs' duties, and should fix the period when our tariffs—losing their prohibitory, or, as it is in mockery called, their *protecting* character—will have no farther relations with the treasury, than, as a means of supplying the wants of the fiscal revenue. We demand, also, that France, responding to the friendly intentions manifested by many of the northern powers, shall procure for us, by means of reciprocal concessions, an extensive market for our produce in these states.

"That for this purpose, government should make a reduction in our tariffs, to Russia, England, Holland, Belgium, Prussia, Denmark, Sweden and Germany, principally upon pitcoal, cotton threads of certain numbers, which we cannot attain to; iron, steel, common crockery, leather, hemp and flax, linen cloths, and woollens. We recommend to particular attention, the relations that France might cultivate with the vast states of America.

"If contrary to our hope, our prayers are not heard; if our wants are not comprehended; if, by a fatal blindness, it should be thought impossible to deprive the north and its manufactures of that spoliating protection, which largely endows one party with what it has violently torn from the other;—

"If it were demonstrated that our present legislation is incapable of reconciling the adverse interests of the northern and southern provinces;—in this case we openly declare it, there will be no salvation for our provinces, but in the creation of an interior line of customs, which without destroying their national unity, would assure to the two parts of France, the conditions necessary for their existence as agricultural and manufacturing countries. Then as formerly, the north might protect itself against the importation of foreign productions, and its prosperity would cease to be the occasion of our ruin. Prudence indicates this measure to the wisdom of power. Let it foresee and prevent the catastrophe, that might be brought about by an incompatibility of material interests in the bosom of

the same nation. Does not the history of our times shew us Belgium raised against Holland, and South Carolina against the federal union of America, by this same incompatibility? These important events contain profound instruction, which is alarming to our patriotic feelings. Patriotism offers it to the deep reflection of the statesmen by whom we are governed."

The inhabitants of Bordeaux had evidently fallen into an error against which we must be on our guard, and which must have greatly diminished the weight of their just remonstrances and demands. No doubt the north is the principal seat of those manufactories which profit by the prohibitory system, as is the south of those which suffer by it. But it is not the less true, and the evidence given by the chambers of commerce fully establishes the fact, that free trade possesses many advocates in the north, and has its opponents in the south of France. The Bordalese, by dividing France into two hostile zones, committed a double fault, for in the first place, they aroused against themselves the patriotism of every Frenchman, who valued the integrity of his country; and in the second, they, as it were, rejected the important alliance of the merchants and artizans, who although on the other side of the Loire, are no less than themselves the natural opponents of the prohibitory system; the nature of men's trade, and not their local situation, must incline them to give or withhold their support from this system; and the wine merchants and growers of Bordeaux, would have been more favourably listened to, had they made their appeal to all who had a common interest with them. The same observation applies in France to manufactories and to agriculture, which taken in general are favourable, the former to the exclusion of foreign produce, and the latter to its admission. But on the other hand, many branches of manufacture suffer from the monopoly by which others prosper, and all agree in complaining of the dearness of iron, and attribute, with apparent reason, the high price of an article which is so necessary to them, to the political influence of the great owners of forests and coal mines, who would sell their coals and their wood upon much less advantageous terms, if the enormous duty laid upon foreign iron, had not enabled the French iron-work masters to command the home market. Never perhaps were the consequences of a false principle so strikingly made manifest. At the peace of 1814, the French foundries, cotton, and most of the woollen manufactures, were, if compared with our own, conducted in a most unskilful manner, and the high price of fuel was a

serious obstacle to any improvement. In order to multiply coal pits, and to encourage the proprietors of wood, high duties were levied upon foreign coal and iron, and the home manufacturers were thenceforward obliged to sell their goods at such a price as would cover the expense they were put to for iron and combustibles. From that time it became impossible for them to sustain any competition with us, and it would have been so, even if they had had as perfect machinery and as skilful workmen as ourselves: and inasmuch as they had a right to a protection, which the folly of government had rendered necessary; and as this protection diminished the receipts of customs, and it was necessary to supply the deficiency, it followed that very heavy duty must be imposed upon raw material, imported from foreign countries. Thus was created a new cause of embarassment for the manufacturers, who were already, from the monopoly they enjoyed, indisposed to that emulation, which is never truly active, except where stimulated by competition with the goods of other countries. These facts are constantly alluded to by the chambers of commerce; but those which have best defended the two opposite systems of prohibitions and free trade, are, unquestionably, the chambers of Arras and Rouen, and it must not be forgotten that the former, the strenuous advocate of free trade, is situated in the north. We will give a brief analysis of their memorials, to show how the question on both sides is considered in France. The commercial chamber of Rouen begins by deploring the progress of the opposition raised against the prohibitory system, which it emphatically denominates "The palladium of French manufactures." In 1833, the minister, in his circulars, desires to know, whether there are any duties which can be taken off without inconvenience? in 1834, he institutes an enquiry, to ascertain whether the entire system of prohibitions may not be laid aside! The innovators, continue the memorialists, depend chiefly on the following arguments: 1st. In defiance of the vigilance of the custom-house officers, contraband trade is carried on to a great extent, and with perfect safety to the speculators, who for a premium ensure themselves against risk. It would be better that this premium should be received by the nation in the form of duties, than remain in the hands of smugglers. 2nd. That the introduction of foreign goods upon sufficiently high duties, would have the advantage of stimulating French artizans, to bring their manufactures to a higher degree of perfection. 3rd. Taking off the present prohibitions, would have the

effect of procuring for French produce, especially wines and brandies, a more advantageous and extensive market, by inducing other nations to make a relaxation in their custom-house regulations. The partizans of these new ideas, are deceived or seduced by emissaries, whom England maintains at a great expense, and who travel about amongst the sea-ports and some manufacturing towns, seeking to make converts to the principle of free trade.

But, add the commercial representatives of Rouen, "these three objections are equally ill-founded. In the first place, the substitution of protecting duties for the prohibitory system, would exceedingly favour smuggling; at present, by virtue of the customs' law of 1816, foreign goods may be seized in the interior of France, which would be impossible if they were admitted upon payment of duty, for the goods that had paid could not then be distinguished from those that had not paid duty. And supposing even that smuggling did not increase, is it not evident, that as soon as ever English cotton and woollen goods were legally admissible, the English would send them into France in prodigious quantities, even, if necessary, at a heavy loss, as they did in America when the ports of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies were opened to them. Our manufacturers could not sustain such a competition, and this torrent would continue to deluge us, till our factories were shut up; after which, the English, then absolute masters of our markets, would easily repay themselves the expense which it had cost them to obtain their supremacy. 2ndly, Is it true that we require competition with foreigners to excite our emulation? We have their machines, their models, their designs; we visit their establishments, and the competition amongst ourselves is sufficiently active to oblige every French manufacturer to make immense efforts to undersell his rivals. Finally, and in the 3rd place, The favours which the wine-growers hope to obtain from England, in exchange for concessions so ruinous to us, would be of little advantage to them for if the English government were to grant a reduction of duty upon wine, it would be too trifling to allow the exportation of the commonest description (*vins ordinaires*); and the advantage being shared by the wines of other countries, would bring far more profit to Spain and Portugal than to France; because long habit has given the English a decided preference for the wines of those two countries. But the wine-growers forget that the wealth of the departments of the north secures to them the monopoly of a market which has

been enlarged by prosperity, and would certainly diminish with it in the same proportion. If they send less wine abroad than in 1790, they sell much more in the interior. They mistake in supposing that a freer commerce would be of service to them; for one customer they might acquire abroad, they would lose ten by the internal distress which the proposed measure would occasion."

The representatives of Rouen, having thus refuted the arguments of their opponents, insist upon the immense advantages which the English manufacturer derives from his great capital, the excellence of land and water carriage, the low price in England of iron, steel, and even brass,—in short, of all those materials which are so indispensable to manufactures, and by the value of which, that of machines is always regulated. They declare that the experience of the commercial treaty of 1786 justifies their apprehensions: there is no disaster that they foresee, which did not, in fact, result from that short departure from the principles of the prohibitory system. But these disasters would now be on a larger scale; who could answer for public tranquillity if the manufactories of the great commercial towns were to be closed?

The Commercial Chamber of Arras, which we have selected as representing the truly liberal opinions in France, begins by ridiculing the exhibitions of national produce which take place at Paris, because these exhibitions are, in fact, deceptions, and the merchants never put the real price upon the articles they send to them. It goes on to deplore the weakness of government in not allowing foreign artizans to exhibit specimens of their productions, that public opinion might be enlightened upon the extent of the inferiority of French workmen, and upon those points in which they excel their rivals. This chamber acknowledges that it would be unjust to expose French workmen to a competition with foreigners, while they are paying larger prices than foreigners for the materials of their work; and when they demand that for the prohibitory system should be substituted duties,—at first high, but afterwards gradually decreasing,—it is on the implied condition, that one year before the change all duties whatever upon the raw materials used by manufacturers shall be abolished; then, continue they, the French manufacturers, who can, in general, procure labour at a cheaper rate than in England, would have the advantage in the home market of selling duty free, so that it must be their own fault if they are not prosperous. Doubtless, continues the Chamber, some par-

ticular branches of manufactures might suffer, but it is deceiving us to affect fear for the interests of the workmen thus thrown out of employment, since other branches of trade, becoming more prosperous, would easily absorb them. They would become more prosperous—1st, from the development of the general welfare; and 2ndly, by the improvement which would result from foreign competition. As a proof that home competition is not a sufficient stimulus, they instance the making of cloths. In the time of Napoleon, Belgium belonged to France, and then French cloths could bear the comparison with those of Belgium; while now the Elbœuf chamber of commerce declares, that 40 per cent. would not be a sufficient protection to French cloths against this same rivalry. But if this be so, why has Belgium herself since 1830 prohibited the admission of French cloths? Again, the chamber enquires, whether, if these manufacturers are to be treated as the whole nation; in case of war, and of such a war as would enable France to extend her frontiers to the Rhine, it would be necessary to give up this advantage, in order to secure them against the rivalry of the Belgian and Rhenish manufactures, which would then be French. The chamber concludes its memorial by expressing great astonishment that the minister should not have consulted the mercantile interest, who, throughout France, are unanimous, from the merchant to the smallest shopkeeper, in ardently desiring a quick return to more liberal ideas; and they declare that, as the welfare of the majority should be the first consideration, they demand the suppression, upon the conditions already named, of the whole system of prohibitions. We will not conclude this part of our task, without mentioning the evidence of M. Le Tourneur, receiver-general of customs at Lille. This functionary declares explicitly, that the system of prohibitions favours smuggling, by throwing it almost entirely into the hands of the French manufacturers themselves; and that this is the true, though secret, cause of their opposition to duties, even if amounting to a protection, that is to say, very high. He grounds his opinions upon the facility with which every merchant can throw into circulation any quantity of goods manufactured abroad, but analogous to those which he himself supplies; and he adds, as a proof, that most of the seizures of foreign goods made in the interior of France take place at manufactories!!!

We shall not enlarge farther upon the depositions concerning the principle of prohibitions which were transmitted to

M. Duchatel, by the Chambers of Commerce; we shall content ourselves by saying, that they were of the same character as those received upon the special enquiry respecting plated goods, glass, pottery, and woollen and cotton stuffs: almost in every instance, the interest of the individuals consulted determines their reply; and, moreover, the most ardent supporters of prohibitions are seldom desirous of extending them beyond what is requisite for their own individual profit. Thus, the woollen manufacturers require a reduction of the duty of twenty-two per cent. upon the value, which was laid upon foreign wools, for the advantage of the owners of flocks. Thus, cotton-weavers demand the free introduction of cotton spun in other countries. Thus, all join in wishing for the admission, duty free, of coals; and for the reduction of duties upon iron: the prohibitory system is not defended by any of those classes which profit by it, except in so far as it concerns themselves: and the commercial chambers both in the north and in the south, wherever they represent the interests of the mercantile community, of the wine-growers, or of the silk-weavers, are unanimous in reprobating even the imposition of high duties. The reader will be astonished at the pertinacity with which the privileged manufacturers of France defend the prohibitory system, since it would seem, that the monopoly of the home market might be secured to them by duties which could be made high enough, even to close the ports against foreign produce: but many causes besides that pointed out by M. de Tourneur, concur in making them consider it as their safeguard. In the first place, they produce too much, and the French market is already overstocked; and as the privileged manufactures of France—thanks to their imperfect state—cannot, in foreign markets, sustain a competition with England; and their produce cannot, therefore, elsewhere be disposed of; they consider, that the smallest admission of foreign goods into this sanctuary of their idleness, would increase the stagnation already so heavily felt, and which arises from the excess of their own production. Secondly, if the smugglers bring foreign goods into France, for a premium seldom exceeding twenty-five per cent., the prohibitory system gives a right to seize these goods, not only on the frontiers, but even in the interior of the country; consequently, were the smugglers to carry on their illegal trade on such a large scale as really to injure French manufacturers, they would incur such risks as must deprive them of all profit. While the right of search continues over the whole kingdom, smuggling must be

chiefly confined to goods whose value is great compared with their size, and even then cannot be carried on to any great extent; the purchasers remaining always liable to confiscation: and, in the third place, not only would the substitution of protecting duties for prohibition, render the right of search in the interior nearly impossible, but great difficulty would occur in the manner of collecting them,—they must either be levied by weight upon all imported goods, without distinction of quality; or, upon their value. Upon the first plan, duties would be ridiculously high upon common goods; and, upon those of a superior description, they would not afford an adequate protection: and, of the second alternative, the French manufacturers are singularly apprehensive; they know how difficult it would be for the custom-house officers to fix the value of imported goods; and they are not ignorant that the commercial treaty concluded in 1786, was fatal to their predecessors, from the admission of English goods; although they were subjected to a duty of twelve per cent., as we learn from Dupont de Nemours, one of the warmest partizans of the treaty, in his *Reply to the Observations of the Chamber of Commerce of Normandy.* (Paris, 1789). We must own that there seems to be here a serious objection, which must nevertheless be settled, before any commercial treaty can be arranged between the two countries. And fourthly, our neighbours in general are fully convinced, that English manufacturers are so patriotic, as of their own accord to sell their goods at a loss in any country, of which they desire to destroy the manufactures; this prejudice is founded on the rash exportations which our manufacturers continually risk, whenever there is a glut at home; and it contributes to diminish the unpopularity of the prohibitory system. We know no one at Manchester or Birmingham, at all disposed to sell their goods in France at a lower price than he could obtain elsewhere; yet we must allow, that when a crisis should arise, the protecting barrier of duties in France, would often be broken down, by the necessities of our manufacturers, and so far there seems something reasonable in their fears. The objections to the principle of protecting duties, pervade the whole enquiry; we find them again in the second part, when the minister and the board of trade, after having collected the opinions of the chambers of commerce, upon the fundamental principle of the prohibitory system, proceed to the oral examination of persons called upon as witnesses of the actual state of those branches of manufactures particularly under discussion. We

set aside the less important manufactures of pottery, glass, and plated goods; premising merely, that the individuals interested in the two former, attach but small importance to maintaining the prohibitions upon Staffordshire wares; the only parties who refuse to accept of protecting duties, being those who own that their factories are so far removed from coal or clay, that they would have to bear enormous expenses of carriage. Let us pass on to examine the evidence given on the state of the cotton and woollen factories in France. In the course of its labours, the High Board of Trade interrogated ninety artizans, merchants, or delegates, from the chambers of commerce, upon the possibility of placing duties upon threads, and cotton, and woollen stuffs, instead of interdicting them; and we must own that M. Duchatel, who presided in person, used his utmost influence to dissipate the alarm of those who anticipated future gluts, to be occasioned by the combination of English manufacturers, and feared the greater facilities that the new system would give to smuggling; upon the first point he frequently observes to the witnesses that even supposing that the English manufacturers would, for the sake of ruining those of France, be content to sell their goods at a loss, they must then sell them on those terms to the whole world, as all would choose to buy them in France, because they would there be sold cheaper, than even in England; that consequently such a conspiracy must soon be fatal to its authors. As to the second point, he proposes to continue the right of search in the interior, and to have a mark attached to one end of each piece of cotton or cloth, obliging shopkeepers, under a penalty, to cut it always at the other end. But neither his arguments nor his securities had any effect upon the minds of those who were personally interested in keeping up the monopoly; yet we must remark, that in the cotton trade, the manufacturers of Alsace seem much less eager to maintain their privileges than those of French Flanders, Picardy, and Normandy; the fact being, that they are less essential to them. They are more enterprising; in 1834, their factories contained looms of 396 spindles, while the factories of other provinces had no looms of more than 216 or 240. Neither do they deserve to share in the reproach addressed to the manufacturers of Rouen by M. Lemarchand, a great dyer of that town, who, in his reply to the minister, accuses them of having thought they had discovered a great novelty in a machine which, though but recently issued by a French mechanician, had been in the factories of Mr. Parkinson ever since 1820. The

Alsace manufacturers are better served by their workmen, who may be compared to our own, and they were not so alarmed at the projected innovations. If the commercial chamber of Mulhausen, protested against the admission of foreign goods, we may set off against that fact, the contrary opinion, which only last year was manifested by that same chamber, at the strong conclusion and disinterested evidence given by its president, M. Rœchlin. This gentleman, who is a member of the Chamber of Deputies, is one of the partners of the well-known firm bearing his name, which employs at Mulhausen upwards of 5,000 workmen, and possesses a large weaving factory in the Grand Duchy of Darmstadt, at Lauvisheim, near Worms. The French manufactory furnishes twist to the German one, unless when the latter can provide itself cheaper in England or Switzerland; and M. Rœchlin declared, that during the eight years which elapsed from 1826 to the end of 1833, this was the case for twenty-seven months only. He considers that the prohibitory system not only retards improvements, but that its effect is to produce inequality of prices, sometimes raising them when the stock of native manufactures is exhausted, in a manner ruinous for the weavers; or, when this stock is too considerable, causing them to fall in a manner no less ruinous for the spinners; and he attributes to this cause the crises of 1827, '29 and '32. Like all the persons questioned, he demands that the duties should be taken off all raw materials of every description; he speaks with praise of the obliging manner in which English manufacturers afford all the information in their power to those of France; and having stated that Alsace sells even in England a certain quantity of printed muslin, he concludes by desiring that the system of duties should be substituted for that of prohibitions. There is neither the same interest nor the same frankness in the other depositions. The evidence of M. Leutner, of Tarare, shows that, with the connivance of government, smuggling was had recourse to for insuring a due supply of the fine threads necessary for its manufactures. The evidence on the state of the woollen factories presents a different result. With but few exceptions, the manufacturers who were examined, considered that a duty of twenty-five per cent., provided it were effectually collected, would be a sufficient protection; and the manufacturers of light fancy articles mixed with cotton or silk, avow distinctly, that the abolition of all duties upon raw material, wools, coals, machines and metals, would allow them to compete advantageously with England in every market, and consequently,

they are most desirous of a new system. In 1834, therefore, the principal supporters of the old system were the cotton manufacturers, the iron-work masters, and the owners of coal-pits and forests, who were interested in maintaining,—the former, the prohibitory system,—and the latter, the exorbitant duties imposed on foreign coal and iron. These we say, were the principal, from the extent of their capital and the vast number of workmen they employ even relatively to the linen factories of which the enquiry did not take cognizance, and of which many branches are protected by almost prohibitory duties. The line of conduct which the English government should adopt, seems sufficiently pointed out by these facts: it should seek to find allies amongst those classes of Frenchmen, whose interests are so completely set at nought by the present system; for this long enquiry had no result, except in the insignificant changes introduced by the law of 2d July 1836, which merely allowed the exportation of raw silk upon an export duty of three francs the kilogramme, and ratified the ordonnances of M. Duchatel, by which he had made a considerable reduction in the duties upon iron and coal, and allowed the admission of cotton twist of the numbers above 170. However, since that period, France has incurred enormous expense for the improvement of her means of communication both by land and water. In four years more, one of the chief obstacles to the development of her internal prosperity—the expense of transport—will have been in great measure removed. Her privileged manufactories will undoubtedly gain by the change; but how much greater would be the gain both to France and England, if these new resources were brought into active operation by an equitable commercial treaty between the countries. The obligation imposed upon our neighbours of finding vent for their activity within the limits traced by their absurd custom-house regulations, is not only injurious, because it diverts their capital from a more natural, and therefore more profitable, employment; but also, on account of the wild speculations in which that capital is so often wasted. The following summary drawn up by a competent person from the records of the Tribunal of Commerce, will show the number and the nature of the joint-stock companies established from the 1st January 1826, to the 31st December 1837, and also, the number of those whose shares were, in 1833, above or below par.

The companies established last year, for purposes, generally speaking, too evidently fraudulent, are not included.

RECAPITULATION.	*Declared Capital.*		*Capital of Societies, existing up to January 1838.*				*Capital of the Societies.*					
			Shares at or above par.		*Shares below par.*		*Ruined or dissolved.*		*Not quoted.*		*Commencing.*	
Insurances	26	69,140,000	12	27,800,000	7	26,000,000	1	1,000,000	5	4,140,000	1	10,000,000
Banks and other similar establishments	28	144,055,000	15	96,680,000	1	2,000,000	2	1,100,000	8	33,070,000	2	11,200,000
Steam boats & water carriage	40	28,397,000	17	10,247,000	6	2,630,000	1	100,000	12	10,020,000	4	5,400,000
Canals	6	36,300,000	..	.. ..	3	9,300,000	1	4,000,000	2	53,000,000	..	.. ..
Railroads	6	35,500,000	1	14,000,000	..	.. ..	..	.. ..	2	3,300,000	3	18,200,000
Draining marshes	5	63,700,000	1	9,000,000	1	4,000,000	..	.. ..	3	50,700,000	..	.. ..
Forges and foundries	10	11,150,000	2	2,300,000	2	2,400,000	..	.. ..	6	6,450,000	..	.. ..
Gas	13	24,470,000	9	17,270,000	1	3,000,000	..	.. ..	3	4,200,000	..	.. ..
Printing and publishing	33	12,781,000	19	9,642,000	5	1,084,000	2	590,000	7	1,465,000	..	.. ..
Journals and periodicals	282	48,764,000	12	2,741,000	88	17,694,000	102	16,041,000	79	12,088,000	1	200,000
Manufactories and different fabrications	91	84,319,000	26	18,875,000	9	10,525,000	9	6,780,000	46	46,839,000	1	1,300,000
Coal mines	31	91,850,000	9	45,900,000	6	12,400,000	3	11,200,000	13	22,350,000	..	.. ..
Bridges	14	8,150,000	6	5,770,000	7	2,180,000	..	.. ..	1	200,000	..	.. ..
Literary publications	75	12,154,000	9	798,000	24	4,603,000	8	1,579,000	29	4,094,000	5	1,080,000
Native sugar	13	6,400,000	1	400,000	..	.. ..	..	.. ..	12	6,000,000	..	.. ..
Theatres, concerts	40	36,375,000	4	1,320,000	12	6,260,000	11	26,400,000	13	2,395,000	..	.. ..
Carriages	85	77,649,000	22	16,840,000	22	14,002,000	16	35,294,000	24	11,138,000	1	375,000
Mechanical baking	4	1,220,000	1	60,000	..	.. ..	2	540,000	1	600,000	..	.. ..
Buildings, markets, bazaars, warehouses, &c	32	32,358,000	6	5,950,000	12	11,470,000	4	6,488,000	6	5,550,000	4	2,900,000
Distribution of water	7	5,340,000	1	2,000,000	4	2,650,000	1	390,000	1	300,000	..	.. ..
Undertakings, agricultural, horticultural, colonization	18	37,585,000	4	15,670,000	4	11,120,000	..	.. ..	8	9,495,000	2	1,000,000
Different companies	174	140,945,000	40	16,586,000	39	28,216,000	21	48,414,000	73	46,729,000	1	1,000,000
Total	1,033	1,038,602,000	217	319,849,000	253	172,034,000	184	159,936,000	351	334,128,000	25	52,655,000

It cannot reasonably be doubted, that the capital of France would take a different and less perilous direction, if not prevented by the custom-house laws: what proves it, and proves also, that the profits of manufacturing industry have, in spite of the monopoly of the home market, considerably diminished, is the real improvement of agriculture; encouraged, it is true, by new roads and canals, but checked, on the other hand, by the extreme subdivision of property. No one who has travelled latterly in France, can have failed to remark the quantity of land newly brought into cultivation, and the efforts that have been made to improve the method of culture, hitherto so imperfect in the departments of the centre and of the south. The market of France is, therefore, a growing market, in spite of every impediment thrown in the way; and of those impediments, one of the greatest is assuredly the erroneous principle upon which is built the whole fabric of the prohibitory system. When the law of the 28th April 1816, had confirmed the royal ordinance, by which everything in Napoleon's custom-house system, that could be made applicable to a state of peace, was perpetuated; and when, afterwards, in 1822 and 1836, this law was again sanctioned by the legislature in all its principal provisions, its natural supporters always reasoned upon the supposition, that the prohibitions they then voted for, were only temporary, and would be abrogated as soon as the privileged manufactures had ceased to require protection; or, in other words, as soon as they were able to offer their goods to the public upon lower terms than foreigners. Such has always been, both in France and England, the argument of the prohibitionists; and if the reader remembers the immense efforts made by Mr. Huskisson, to overcome the resistance of our silk-weavers, he will be easily convinced, that the French manufacturers are neither the first, nor the only ones, who have succeeded in reconciling to themselves, an abstract love of free trade, with the most rigid practical restrictions. In both cases, the same fallacious assumption is easily discernible. People believe, that a nation which could produce everything at the cheapest rate, and had, consequently, nothing to purchase from the other nations of the earth, would have reached the highest pitch of national prosperity; and they forget that this *ultima thule* of their desires can only be attained, on condition of giving up all external commerce. Let us suppose, for a moment, that the commercial utopists of France had succeeded to the highest extent of their desires—that they produced in their own country, both

raw materials, and manufactured goods, of every description, and so cheaply, that other nations must lose by sending goods to them: then, no doubt, her workmen would not require protection; she might safely dismiss her custom-house officers, for even smuggling would have become impossible. But, buying of no one, no one would buy of her; she would have no relations with any other people, but must become a second China, walled in by the cheapness of her own commodities. Even, if in this state of things, her internal wealth increased— which it would be easy to prove an impossible case—her political influence must, nevertheless, be totally destroyed: she must be alone in the world, without an ally, or a well-wisher; for other nations would then protect themselves, by prohibitions, from an intercourse which would have become ruinous. It is to such a situation as this, that the privileged manufacturers of France are tending—each one for his own branch of industry: and yet they dare to complain, that their own external commerce has not increased since 1790! Yet, we are not much surprised at the result of the enquiry of 1834; for the adversaries of the prohibitory system seem, on their part, to have fallen into a great error. We do not think, that if the legislature had voted the admission of cotton cloths into France, even upon moderate duties, it would have opened to the French silk-weavers and wine-growers, the markets now closed entirely, or nearly so, against them. Our manufacturers would have profited by the measure, but we doubt if the gratitude of our silk-weavers and distillers, for the boon received by their countrymen, would have induced them to consent to the admission, upon very low duties, of the produce France has to offer in exchange. Why, indeed, should they make concessions, if they had, without them, obtained all that our neighoours have to grant? No doubt, our interest, well understood, would lead us to follow the example they would have set us; for, amongst nations, the market where one buys nothing, becomes, in the end, a market where we cannot sell. But this evil being prospective, some time must elapse before the opposers of the introduction of French goods would yield to necessity—a time long enough to ruin the cotton interest on the other side of the channel. The advantage, then, will continue on the side of the prohibitionists, as long as the argument is thus stated: and, as the question is merely, whether France shall change her system without the security, in doing so, of any diplomatic arrangement—they will always say, that a more liberal system would compromise the existence of their

establishments, without holding out any real advantage to their opponents; who, on their part, understand the force of the objection, and are much more vehement in declaiming against the system which was the origin of their distress, than in seeking the establishment of a different one; conscious, that the advantages they would derive from it are problematical. The Bordeaux merchants certainly depend upon England's receiving their wines, but they also depend upon the continuance of the consumption in the north of France. They do not expect that, with a duty of 5*s.* 6*d.* a gallon upon their wine, and of 22*s.* 6*d.* a gallon upon their brandies, we should be able to make up to them even the loss of the Dunkirk market, to which they annually export 10,000 casks of wine. In the present state of the great trading nations, and with the privileges in their home markets, which they have granted, either to their manufactories, or their agriculture, none of them can prudently give up a single prohibition—a single protecting duty, until assured of obtaining an equivalent concession from some other nation. Commercial treaties should precede all changes in the customs; to wish for the latter before the conclusion of the former, is to bring about a perpetual *statu quo.* All the books in the world will not alter the necessity which compels every nation to regulate its customs duties upon those of its neighbours;—prohibiting those articles which are elsewhere produced better and cheaper than at home, so long as the articles in which they excel, are, in their turn, prohibited by their neighbours. We should deceive ourselves, if we expected to arrive at any really useful results by any other way; and, in our relations with France, the true question is, to determine the measure of our reciprocal concessions, so that each country may find in those which are made to it, an ample compensation for the partial evils resulting from those it is obliged to make. It would be madness in England to consent to admit the wines and brandies of France upon a slight duty, if France did not undertake to receive our iron on the same conditions. But, were France to propose to us a mutual reduction of duties, upon iron in France, and wines, &c. in England, it would be worth while to consider whether the wide market opened for our iron, might not compensate for the loss inflicted upon some of our countrymen, by the increased consumption of French wines. This, if we mistake not, is the rule which should be followed, and we will add, that if it is our object to form a commercial alliance with France, governments would do well to set aside the habitual

mysteries of diplomacy, and to take means for acquainting the public with the measures they propose, and the concessions they intend offering in exchange for those they wish to obtain. Thus they would gain the support of all those classes in France, whose private interests made them anxious for such results; and that support would be warm and efficient, for it would no longer be thrown away upon an empty theory, but given to a practical system, capable of immediate application. One of the principal obstacles to any arrangement must always be as to the way of collecting the duties, whether upon the quality independent of value, or upon the value alone, of the imported articles.* The first method is the most easy of execution, for it will be more difficult for importers to commit frauds in the weight or measure of their goods, than in their quality; but it has this objection, that a tax thus levied, will always be too heavy for goods of an inferior description, and too light for those of greater value. Thus the French duty of 7 francs the kilogramme upon thread above the number 172, did not prevent its being imported; but the same duty laid upon thread of inferior numbers, amounted to a prohibition. Again the duty of 5*s.* 6*d.* a gallon upon wine, completely closes our ports against wines of the second and lowest quality, and offers a dangerous premium to home adulteration. *Ad valorem* duties, on the contrary, allow the importation of goods of all description, and if the danger of this method of taxation can be avoided, it is undoubtedly the best, especially in cases of mutual concessions, where we are desirous of favouring the nation by which we are favoured. To feel this difficulty in its full force, we must remember, that when a country alters its tariff, without imposing conditions upon other countries, it acts thus for its own interest, and because it finds an advantage in doing so, without regard to the consequences of the measure to other nations. But the case is different where its modifications are made by mutual agreement between two nations, neither of which can obtain anything from the other, except for a full equivalent; above all, when the press on the one side, and a representative government on the other, examine jealously the clauses of the treaty, and carefully watch its execution and results. If then we would have the ports of France gradually opened to our manufactures, we must be prepared to open ours in the same proportion, and we are greatly mistaken if we suppose that the wine-growers of France will exert themselves strenuously to obtain a commercial alliance with England, unless it is distinctly settled that the

wine duty shall be an *ad valorem* duty; and for this obvious reason, the reduction of duty, so much a gallon, would certainly be favourable to the vintages of the first, perhaps of the second quality; but those of the third and fourth quality, which are the great majority of French wines, would receive no benefit. Their proprietors would therefore separate their interests from those of the growers of the better quality, unless an equally great reduction took place in the now exorbitant duty upon brandy. But here again the same difficulty occurs; all the French brandies are by no means of equal goodness, and the great mass of inferior wines produce a spirit of such indifferent quality, that it would not bear a duty that would be light upon such as we now import. But it is our great object to combine, and to stimulate, the whole body of French wine-growers, in order to overcome the obstinate resistance, and powerful combinations, of the prohibitionists. Certainly the substitution we are here proposing, not as a step to be immediately taken, but as an offer to be made, is open to the most formidable objections, which however might perhaps be in part overcome, by retaining in the bonding warehouses, for at least a month, all the wines that were imported; during which time, not only the custom-house officers, but also every one else, would be allowed to purchase them by adding 5 or 10 per cent. to the declared value. This system would oblige importers to be upon their guard, as, otherwise, speculators would soon be found to profit by the deceptions they might attempt. A clause to this effect would remedy, in part at least, and so far as the treasury is concerned, the evils inseparable we unhesitatingly admit, from an *ad valorem* duty upon French wines and brandies. However great those evils, we are nevertheless fully satisfied, that a disposition on our part, some day to accept of them, is one of the conditions of any really extensive intercourse between the two countries. We must create a power which shall be in proportion to the obstacles we have to overcome, and we can only do this by appealing to the self-interest of a large part of our neighbours. The following extract from the statement of Dr. Bowring, shows us but too clearly, how impossible we should find it to open the French markets by any other means.

"In France, a very large proportion of those who are interested in the continuance of the existing commercial system, are *elevated public functionaries*, or are placed in immediate contact with them. It would have been idle therefore to have attacked great monopolies in their strongest holds. Nor can it be denied, that some of the

protected manufactures are of such magnitude, as to demand attention and respect. In many of them, considerable numbers of workmen are engaged, and though their employment in protected fabrics, leads to the exclusion of a far more considerable number of labourers in those branches of industry, whose cultivation would be the natural instead of forced growth of capital, yet all serious shiftings or transfer of labour, cannot but involve questions of difficulty and deep concern. In the mean time, the labouring classes, impatient of the suffering which is of necessity consequent upon the changes, which every alteration of the tariff brings with it, naturally ally themselves with their manufacturing masters, who demand the exclusion of the foreign articles, which are in competition with their own."

If it was our principal object to give our readers a precise idea of the state of the French fabrics, we should make numerous extracts from the excellent reports of the author we have just named; but we are chiefly anxious to point out the only measures which, in our opinion, are calculated to unite France and England in the bonds of a permanent friendship—beyond the reach of vicissitudes, parties, and cabinets. We should have gained a great step, if public opinion were so clearly manifested in England, as to convince our neighbours, that by us a first treaty of commerce, however slight might be the concessions on either side, would be considered as a first step, for attaining, on both sides, and by the help of more and more liberal treaties, to the reciprocal abolition of all directly or indirectly protecting duties. Then, all doubts as to the sincerity of our attachment to the principles of free trade would be put an end to; and those classes which derive benefit from this immense innovation, knowing the extent of our offers, would, by degrees, form themselves into a vast corporation, which would be devoted to our interests, and which would end, by obtaining in the Chambers a victory over the party of prohibitionists. The first treaty would assuredly present many difficulties; for it would be necessary, from amongst a multitude of hostile and vexatious regulations in both tariffs, to select those which might first be abandoned; and as in both countries, in spite of every effort, these concessions would compromise some branches either of agriculture or manufactures, the selection must, of course, be attended with much difficulty. A reduction, more or less considerable, in the duty upon French wines and brandies might be offered, upon condition of an analogous reduction of the duty laid by France upon our iron and linen thread, and, perhaps, of the admission, upon a fixed duty, of our cotton twist above No.

100. We greatly regret, that the prejudices of the French people, which will not allow of a regular exportation of corn, should prevent this article from being included in a first settlement between the nations, as we should consider this the most natural solution of the Corn Law question. The adversaries of these laws wish for the admission of foreign corn upon a fixed duty, in order, in the first place, to prevent those ruinous fluctuations in price, which necessarily result from the present system; in the second, to find markets for our manufactures in those countries where we should buy a part of our food; and in the third, to secure for the labouring classes, with cheaper bread, an extension of comforts. We freely admit that the attainment of their wishes would realize the first of these objects, but we have our doubts respecting the other two, unless commercial treaties with Russia, for instance, or with Prussia, should bind them to grant us in return great mercantile advantages; without this reciprocity, we think that the changes now sought for, would produce one or other of the following results. As Great Britain and Ireland raise annually a sufficient quantity of corn for their consumption within about 500,000 quarters, we should not, except upon speculation, import more than this quantity, nor should we increase the value of our exports to foreign nations beyond this amount; supposing their tariffs to continue the same as at present—supposing the then price of foreign corn to be high enough to place it on a level with English corn, our workmen would gain nothing; and, in the contrary case, our farmers would be obliged to reduce their prices in order to meet the competition; for it is clear that they had better sell at the lowest rate than not sell at all. The latter supposition is the most probable, for a constant demand would stimulate the activity of the Prussian and Russian landholders, and, we believe, that their production would increase much beyond what Mr. Jacob supposes. Prices, therefore, would very shortly fall at Dantzic, Riga, and Odessa; and it is probable that the same cause would bring down the expense of transport; and this double fall would soon become fatal to our landed interest, as it would occasion an equal diminution in the value of our harvests. It must not be forgotten, that the amount of our importations will not exceed the amount of the deficiencies of our own harvests, except when speculations are engaged in; and, consequently, the additional market for our manufactures would not only be inconsiderable, but it would become more so as the value of imported corn became less, through the

gradual reduction of the price of foreign and native corn. The workman would certainly buy bread cheaper in this case, but what would he gain by it? Would not the manufacturer reduce his prices in the same proportion? It is true that this reduction would enable the manufacturer to overcome all competition in the markets that are open to him, although not in Russia or Prussia, where the tariffs would still be opposed to him. But this advantage would not compensate to him for the ruin of our own farmers. Looking, therefore, at his interest only, we do not think a premature and too great fall in the price of corn would increase his sale abroad, so much as it would diminish it at home; but the objections we have rapidly hinted at, would not apply to the admission, upon a moderate duty, of French wheat; because if this admission were possible, it would, at least in general, give stability to our prices, without exposing them to any dangerous reduction. Indeed, there is not more than a difference of 35 per cent. between the money value of wheat in the two countries; and after deducting the duty which would be established, the difference would be but a slight diminution of price to us, and a very slight rise to our neighbours. Our landed interest would lose little, and the French landed interest would gain a great deal. But, unhappily, in the present state of things, the manufacturers and workmen on the other side of the Channel would oppose, even by violence were it needful, a measure which would only benefit the landholders.

ART. IV.—*Dodd's Church History of England, from the commencement of the Sixteenth Century to the Revolution in 1688, with Notes, Additions, and a Continuation,* by the Rev. M. A. Tierney, F.S.A. Vol. 1. London, 1839.

IT is with pleasure that we announce to our readers the appearance of this long-expected volume. We hail it as the precursor of the succeeding volumes, into which the rest of the work will be divided: and to these we look forward with the greater impatience, on account of the consummate skill with which the editor has illustrated this, the least interesting portion of his task, and the alluring foretaste which he has here given to us of the information and entertainment that we may hope to derive from the remainder.

The original title prefixed by Dodd to his work, will afford

to the reader a competent notion of its principal contents. He terms it—

"The Church History of England, from the year 1500 to 1688, chiefly with regard to Catholics: being a complete account of the divorce, supremacy, dissolution of monasteries, and first attempts for a reformation under king Henry VIII; the unsettled state of the reformation under Edward VI; the interruption it met with from queen Mary; with the last hand put to it by queen Elizabeth: together with the various fortunes of the Catholic cause during the reigns of king James I, king Charles I, king Charles II, and king James II: particularly the lives of the most eminent Catholics, cardinals, bishops, inferior clergy, regulars, and laymen, who have distinguished themselves by their piety, learning, or military abilities: also a distinct and critical account of the works of the learned; the trials of those that suffered either on the score of religion, or for real or fictitious plots against the government; with the foundation of all the English colleges and monasteries abroad: the whole supported by original papers and letters, many whereof were never before made public. To which is prefixed a general history of ecclesiastical affairs under the British, Saxon, and Norman periods."

Hence the reader will see, that, though Dodd has devoted his labours chiefly to the reformation, and the times following the reformation, he has not neglected the long period which preceded it, from the first plantation of the Christian faith in this island. This portion occupies more than one hundred and seventy pages, about one-half of the present volume; so that the whole work may be aptly styled, "the history of the rise and progress, and of the decline and fall, of the Catholic Church in England."

We are aware, that from the very dawn of the reformation, down to the present time, there has been a constant succession of Protestant writers, who have made the history of the English Church the peculiar subject of their study, and the chief foundation of their fame. We know that their object has been to investigate and describe many of the same facts, which Dodd in his title-page professes to investigate and describe. But then, Catholics have reason to mistrust them, as partial and interested witnesses; they hesitate to follow them, as unsafe, perhaps treacherous guides. That this character applies to the more ancient among them, cannot be doubted: for they continually indulge in an intemperance of language that betrays their deadly hatred of the Church which they had abandoned; and they assume a tone, which proves that, to justify their own defection, they thought it necessary to paint her in the most hideous colours. Neither is it inapplicable to more modern historians; who, though they have not the same

temptation to seduce them, yet, with a few honourable exceptions, copy with fidelity the example of their masters: not that they adopt the same coarse, indecent, and vituperative language—it would not be tolerated in the present day; but that they are careful to gratify their own prepossessions, and the prepossessions of their readers, by faithfully retailing every slander and fiction which can reflect disgrace on the ancient Church of this kingdom. It may be thought, that this censure is severe: it is not, however, unmerited. We have too great reason to complain, that we ourselves and our Catholic ancestors are treated with equal unfairness. If our adversaries meet us in the field of controversy, they seldom fail to impute to us doctrines which we do not hold, and practices of which we are ignorant: if they write of the churchmen of former times, the weakest testimony, provided it be unfavourable, is considered as unanswerable evidence, and the merest suspicion of guilty motives is described as an actual fact. Now Dodd is the only Catholic writer who has left to us a consecutive history of his Church from the earliest period to the reign of Henry VIII, and thence has followed its declining fortunes, step by step, down to the eighteenth century. His, therefore, is the only Catholic work which can be constantly placed in contrast with the narratives of the hostile writers whom we have mentioned: and on that account it ought to be highly appreciated, not only by Catholic, but also by Protestant readers. The bigot,—he who seeks only the gratification of his religious prejudices, and loathes the very thought of anything commendatory of the ancient Church,—may turn with disgust from the pages of the Catholic historian: but the candid enquirer after truth, the man who distrusts evidence that is given only on one side, and who refuses to condemn before he has heard, will rejoice at the opportunity of comparing the statements of the opposite parties, and of being enabled, with the aid of such comparison, to distinguish the real facts of history from the slanderous fables of religious sectarianism.

Dodd, as he announces in his title-page, has divided his history between two periods; that which ends with the reign of Henry VII, and that which commences with the reign of his son. Over the first of these he passes with a rapid, though not a careless pen: not because it was barren of important events, or unworthy of the serious attention of the reader, but because in his plan it occupied no other place than that of an introduction to the period which follows,—a period of more recent date and more thrilling interest to every class of

readers; comprising on the one hand, the incessant efforts of Protestants to overthrow the ancient Church; and on the other, the persevering struggles of Catholics to support and defend it.

"The former," says Mr. Tierney, "are more generally known: the latter, which abound with recollections of the most interesting kind, are, with few exceptions, to be found only in the pages of Dodd. Among these are the foundation and history of the English colleges abroad,—the attempts to restore the hierarchy,—the institution of an archpriest,—the appointment of the two bishops of Chalcedon,—the establishment and jurisdiction of the chapter,—the introduction of vicars-apostolic,—and the mission of Panzani. Nor must we omit the biographical notices, so copiously scattered through the work. In this portion of his task, indeed, the talents and the industry of the writer are eminently conspicuous. From sources inaccessible to others, from the diaries of colleges, and the unpublished correspondence of individuals, he has drawn a body of information at once original and important. He has sketched the lives of the most distinguished members of the Catholic community; has described the works and traced the literary career, of its numerous writers; and carrying us back to the period of its severest trial, has left the sufferings and the constancy of its martyrs to edify and improve the world."*

We are anxious to direct the attention of our readers to the subject mentioned in the last lines of the foregoing extract,—Dodd's biographical notices of Catholic writers, and Catholic confessors and martyrs. The more celebrated authors on the Protestant side of the question are universally known: the names of Jewell, Whitaker, Cosins, and their colleagues, are echoed and re-echoed in almost every work referring to the controversy between the two Churches. They are presented to us as men of commanding intellect and extensive erudition; as the champions of truth, encircled with the laurels of victory; as deserving by their labours and their triumphs to be held in everlasting remembrance. It is not our wish in this place to detract from their fame, or to dispute their pretensions; but we may ask, had they no opponents? Let the reader turn to the pages of Dodd, and he will find that they had, and those too in every respect their equals. Harpsfield and Harding, and Stapleton and Campian, and their successors in the same cause, were not inferior in talents or acquirements to the most celebrated of the controvertists to whom they were opposed. Their exertions were equally valued and applauded by their co-religionists; and, if the Protestant boasted of the supe-

* Advertisement, p. viii.

riority of his champions, the Catholic with equal complacency boasted of the superiority of his. At the present day that is a question of little moment: but, if the reader wish to form a correct notion of their respective merits, let him read and compare the works published by each party, instead of giving credit to the bold assertions of writers, who perhaps have never looked into one or the other.

But Dodd was not content with noticing the writers of his communion; he was also careful to describe the courage and constancy of those who, for the sake of their religion, braved the danger of poverty, proscription and death. And here we may remark, that in this country, whilst no one is permitted to remain ignorant of the sufferings of Protestants under Queen Mary, very few ever hear of the sufferings of Catholics under her Protestant successors. Very few are aware, that the reformers and their disciples professed principles which necessarily led to religious persecution; that they believed the Catholic worship to be idolatrous, and deemed it consequently as sacred a duty in them to extirpate that worship out of England, as it was in the Israelites to weed idolatry out of the land of Canaan. Their first step was to incarcerate the Catholic bishops, and to prohibit by act of parliament the public and private exercise of the Catholic service; under the notion that the gradual extinction of the priesthood by death, would at last operate to the total extinction of a religion, which could not exist without a succession of regularly ordained ministers. The establishment of English seminaries in foreign countries soon dispelled this delusion; and from that moment, the prison and the rack, the halter and the knife, were put into requisition, to deter the missionary from entering the kingdom, and to intimidate the layman from opening the door of his house to the missionary. To have taken orders in the Catholic Church, was made a crime of high-treason, and to harbour any person so ordained, a felony without benefit of clergy.* In Dodd may be seen the characters of many among the multitude of those who suffered death under these laws, and the names of several ancient families, who were suddenly reduced by them from opulence to the most griping penury. But these were only "the beginning of the sorrows." Of the enactments which followed,—enactments that met the Catholic with penalties and disabilities in every turn and passage in life; imposing fines upon him at his marriage, at the baptism of his children,

* See 23 Elizabeth, c. i.; 27 Elizabeth, c. ii.

and at the burial of his dead; disqualifying him from holding any place of trust, profit or emolument in the state, from practising in any of the learned professions, from purchasing land, from acting as executor or administrator, or guardian, or schoolmaster; compelling him to pay for absence from church £20 every lunar month, or, if he were unable to raise that sum, to forfeit two-thirds of his personal estate; enabling the bishop of the diocese, or two magistrates, to commit his Catholic wife to prison, till she conformed, or he were willing to pay £10 per month for her liberty; exacting from him a fine to the same amount for every Catholic domestic employed in his service, and every Catholic stranger admitted into his house; prohibiting him to walk or ride more than five miles from his own home, without special license, under the penalty of forfeiting his copyhold lands, and all his goods, &c. &c.*— of these oppressive enactments, we shall only say, that we admire the ingenuity with which they were adapted to their purpose, and wonder that any form of religion could have survived their destructive operation. For they were not enforced merely for two or three years, or during a single reign: even at the end of a century from their origin, after hundreds of their victims had perished by the knife of the executioner, or in the obscurity of a prison, and when the public mind began to revolt at such barbarities, yet, another century was permitted to elapse, before any legislative relief was granted to the sufferers, who continued to languish under all their former restraints and disabilities, and whose property, liberty and life, still lay at the mercy of every unprincipled informer.† We do not say this in anger, or by way of reproach or reprisal: ours is a more Christian object, to disarm religious bigotry, and to inculcate to both parties the decency, if not the duty, of mutual forbearance. Of this we are assured, that, if our readers will follow the fortunes of the English Catholics through the three last centuries, in Dodd, or in any other

* See 13 Elizabeth, c. 2; 23 Elizabeth, c. 1; 27 Elizabeth, c. 2; 29 Elizabeth, c. 6; 35 Elizabeth, c. 2.—1 James I. c. 4; 3 James I. c. 4, 5.—3 Charles I, c. 2, &c.

† Even in the more early part of the reign of George III, in the year 1767, the Rev. Mr. Maloney was found guilty of having exercised the functions of a Catholic priest, and, in expiation of this enormous offence, was consigned to imprisonment for life; in the next year, the Rev. James Webb, and in the year following, the Hon. and Rt. Rev. James Talbot, were tried for their lives, and saved only by the humanity of the judge and jury. On enquiry in 1780, Mr. Butler found, that one single house, that of Dyncly and Ashmall, attornies in Gray's-inn, had defended more than twenty priests under such prosecutions.—See Butler's Hist. Mem. iii. 276.

Catholic writer, they will see that the Protestants of former times have no more claim than their opponents to the praise of tolerance in matters of religion; and, henceforth, when they hear fanatics declaim against the persecuting spirit of popery, will be disposed to silence them with the acknowledgment of the Pagan poet, that

"Illiacos intra muros peccatur et extra."

After these general remarks, we proceed to call attention to the author himself, of whose personal history we know but little. His real name was Hugh Tootell, though he usually went by that of Charles Dodd. Nor ought this to excite our surprise; for, from the time when the Catholic father was made liable to a fine of forty shillings per day, if he employed any but a Protestant tutor or schoolmaster to instruct his child, or of £100, if, for the sake of Catholic education, he sent his child beyond the sea, it had grown into a custom for the young man, on his admission into a foreign seminary, to assume a feigned name, that he might not, by the retention of his real name, bear testimony to the legal delinquency of his parent.* Dodd was born in the neighbourhood of Preston, about the year 1672: and at an early age was placed, as is surmised, under the tuition of his relative, the Rev. Christopher Tootell, of Fernyhalgh or Ladywell. At sixteen, he was sent to the English college in Douai; where, having attended a course of philosophical lectures for two years, he was matriculated on July 16, 1690. He spent three years in the study of theology at Douai, four in the English seminary at Paris, and, soon after his return to Douai, came back to England in May 1698. His native county was the first scene of his missionary labours; and there, in the useful, but unobtrusive station of a Catholic priest, he would soon have escaped from our notice, had he not distinguished himself by the warmth with which he engaged in certain disputes between the regular and secular clergy, and the offensive tone of two or three pamphlets which he thought proper to publish. It was probably during, perhaps at the close, of this controversy, that he formed the design of writing the history now under review. But he soon found that, to execute his plan to his

* We might have added "and to his own disqualification;" for no person educated in a seminary abroad was able in law to take lands either by descent or purchase (Stat. 1, James I. c. 4); or to prosecute any suit in law or equity, or to be guardian, executor, or administrator, or to take by legacy or deed of gift; in addition to the forfeiture of all his goods and chattels, and the loss of lands, rents and annuities, &c. till he should conform. 3 Car. I. c. 2.

satisfaction, in addition to a plentiful supply of printed books, it was also necessary that he should have access to manuscript documents preserved in private repositories. With this view, leaving England in 1718, he visited, during four years, many of the English establishments on the Continent; and in general met with more encouragement, and proved more successful in his researches, than he had ventured to anticipate.

"I was not only favoured," he says, "with the sight of very valuable records, but was permitted to read over the journals, or had authentic abstracts from our colleges and monasteries: many of which places I visited in person, and by my correspondents received satisfaction from others, that were at too great a distance. Where I found that persons had been either careless in continuing their journals, or unwilling to communicate them, I was able to make good such deficiencies from the records of our English college at Douai; which being the first community established abroad after the reformation, and a nursery to most of the rest, afforded intelligence, both as to persons and facts, relating to the whole English mission. But among all the records I met with, none gave me more satisfaction than the original letters of many eminent Catholics, who opposed the reformation in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign; from whence I drew several useful hints, as well towards completing the lives of particular persons, as for illustrating many obscure passages in our church history of the two last ages."*

On his return, Dodd was appointed assistant to the Rev. Mr. Bennet, in the care of the Catholic congregation at Harvington Hall, in Worcestershire; and, after the death of that gentleman (Sept. 1726), continued to reside there, the sole incumbent, during the remainder of his life. At Harvington, he devoted all the time which he could spare from his clerical duties, to the prosecution of his great work—arranging and digesting, modelling and remodelling, in various shapes, the valuable documents which he had brought with him from the Continent. At length the first volume, in folio, appeared in 1737, the second in 1739, and the third and last, in 1742. If we may give credit to the title-page, all these were printed in Brussels: but there is abundant evidence of the contrary; for both the type and the paper are of English manufacture. The expenses were defrayed by a subscription, at the head of which, appears the name of Edward, duke of Norfolk, followed by those of Sir Robert Throckmorton, Cuthbert Constable, Thomas Gifford, and bishops Stonor and Hornyhold, and other eminent men of the Catholic communion. He did

* Preface, p. xvi.

not survive the publication of the last volume an entire year, but died at Harvington, on Feb. 27, 1743, and was buried at Chaddesley Corbett.

By the great body of his brethren, Dodd's work was received with applause and approbation; not, however, without a strong dissent on the part of some, who, for a reason which we shall state presently, charged the author with prejudice, and injustice. But it was at first known to Catholics only: among Protestants, for half a century it failed of attracting notice; and the consequence was, that it might be procured easily, and at a very low price. But the agitation of the Catholic question gave to it a new value. Men, desirous to learn something more of the past fortunes of Catholics than was to be found in our general histories, enquired after Dodd's work, both for information and reference: the price rapidly advanced: it rose to three guineas, thence to ten; and a single copy has been known to sell for between sixteen and seventeen pounds. It was this increasing demand, coupled with the corresponding scarcity of copies, which led to the publication of the present improved edition.

We have just remarked, that Dodd's work did not, from the very first, escape the severe censure of some among his Catholic brethren. The occasion for such censure, was furnished by the pamphlets to which we have adverted already; pamphlets reflecting severely, and, as was thought by many, without any satisfactory ground, on the conduct of an influential party among the English Catholics. With the origin of the dispute, and the merits or demerits of the opposite disputants, we, as reviewers, have no concern. It is enough for us to state, that Dodd had given, perhaps just, at least apparent, cause of offence. The publication, indeed, had taken place twenty years before the appearance of his history; still, he must have been aware that he had become, from that moment, a marked man; and, that every subsequent work of his, if it bore in any way the most distant relation to the subject of his former quarrel, would be scrutinized with a jealous and unfriendly eye. It might be, perhaps, that he sought, on this account, to propitiate his former adversaries; or, perhaps, because he saw how greatly the license of the pamphleteer would detract from the credit of the historian: but, whatever was the cause, certain it is, that in the work before us, he exchanged the bitterness and invective which characterized his former publications, for a more sober and more subdued style of writing; and that, whenever his subject led him to touch on the

questions previously in dispute, he assumed an air of moderation and candour, which, if it was not real, was so well feigned, that it could hardly fail to win and to secure the confidence of the general reader.* Still, the jealousy of those whom he had offended was neither lulled nor disarmed. They discovered, that in his biography, he had often allotted a very scanty and doubtful measure of praise to men of distinguished merit, but connected with the opposite party; and that, in his history, he had suffered his own prejudices to guide his pen in the statement of matters allusive to the former controversy; charges which, if we judge from the constitution of the human mind, are so likely to be founded on truth, that we do not feel disposed to call them in question;† but, when they, moreover, accuse him of the wilful suppression of some facts, and of the wilful perversion of others, we must be allowed to demur until we meet with better proof than has hitherto been submitted to us. An occasional error, or mistake, is no evidence of wilful delinquency. Those who are versed in composition, know how easily, how unaccountably, in a long work, errors, as to names, and dates, and places, slip from the pen; how often matter intended to be introduced, is unintentionally omitted; and, how it sometimes happens, that a misstatement will creep unobserved into the text, and remain there, without the consciousness of the writer. It is but fair to concede to Dodd, the benefit of this plea. We cannot require from him an exemption from error, not granted to the rest of men. But, unfortunately, it is the natural course of things, that when offence has been previously given—when suspicion stands upon the watch, ready to pounce upon its prey, such *maculæ* as we have mentioned, the offspring of inattention or carelessness,—

"Quas aut incuria fudit,
Aut humana parum cavit natura,"

* As proof of this, we refer with confidence to his biography of Father Persons. We think that no one can peruse it without forming an advantageous opinion of the author, and believing that he wrote without passion, and with a determination to do justice to the merits of that celebrated personage. See it in vol. ii. p. 402. fol. edit.

† Dodd had foreseen these objections, and rebutted them in his preface (p. xxix.) But, on comparing this passage with the original (p. x.), we find that the editor has taken some liberties with his text, which we dare not approve. He seems to have acted on the principle, that he might remove silently, an isolated word of offence, as he would an isolated error in date, or name, provided it did not affect the scope, or the substance of the narrative. Now, first, we cannot possibly conceive, why the words omitted should have been considered offensive. Second, we doubt the admissibility of the principle, as a general rule. There is a difference between an offensive expression, and an unimportant error of date, or place. The first may disclose the animus of the author.

instead of being traced to their real source, are almost always attributed to dishonest, and, for the most part, imaginary motives. Be that, however, as it may, of this we are confident, that if erroneous statements, affecting the character of public bodies, or private individuals, are to be found in the pages of Dodd, they will not escape the eye of his present editor; who, though he may think it incumbent on him to reprint with fidelity the original text of his author, will also consider it a sacred duty, in such cases, to do justice in his notes to the parties aggrieved.*

There was, in the arrangement of matter originally adopted by Dodd, something singularly complex and inconvenient: and it is fortunate, both for him and for his readers, that the charge of his new edition has fallen into the hands of a writer, whose eminence in historical and biographical research has been established, by his *History and Antiquities of the Town and Castle of Arundel, including the Biography of its Earls down to the Present Time.* In the original the unity of the narrative is repeatedly broken by the recurrence, in every reign, of a series of chapters devoted to dissimilar subjects: a blemish which Mr. Tierney has judiciously removed, by throwing the whole work into two grand divisions of history and biography, with an appendix to each volume, containing the principal documents to which allusion has been made. By this expedient, the whole of the original matter is retained, and, at the same time, presented to the eye of the reader in a much less exceptionable form. But let us hear the remark of the editor on this subject.

"To remodel is more difficult than to construct: alteration is, in general, but a bad apology for weakening an original design. In the present case, however, it has been thought, that, without injury to

* By doing this, he will also act according to the wish of Dodd himself; in proof of which, we subjoin the following document, which, we believe, has never been printed, from the original, in the hand-writing of the Rev. James Brown, of Mawley, who attended Dodd during his last sickness:—

"March 1, 1742-3.

"We, hereunto subscribing, do attest that Mr. Charles Dodd, late of Harvington, deceased, being, on his death-bed, desired to declare his charitable dispositions to all mankind, and to the Society of Jesus in particular, as suspected to be prejudiced in their regard, to demonstrate the contrary, he voluntarily and freely gave full assent and consent to the following charitable profession: viz. 'As you desire to die in charity with all mankind, and particularly with the Society of Jesus; if you have done them any wrong in writing or otherwise, do you desire pardon and forgiveness, as you forgive them for any, either supposed or received, injury?' Whereunto he cordially replied, '*I do with all my heart*, and that as worded and proposed.' By me, James Brown."

"In the presence of Tho. Berkeley."

the author, his plan might, at least, be partially simplified and improved. Those, who are acquainted with the former edition, are aware that the history is divided into eight parts, corresponding with the eight reigns over which it extends. Of these parts, each is again divided into the three other parts of History, Biography, and Records; and these are still farther subdivided into an indefinite number of articles, according to the variety of the subjects to be treated, or to the rank, the station, or the sex of the several persons whose lives are to be recorded. It is needless to point out the inconvenience of this complex and disjointed arrangement. To remedy the defect, it is intended, in the present edition, to place the work under the two grand divisions of History and Biography; to print the History in the earlier, the Biography in the later, volumes; to subjoin to each volume an Appendix, containing its own records properly arranged; and to insert a reference in the notes to each article of that Appendix, according as its subjects arise in the course of the narrative. It is only requisite to add, that the lives, in the biographical part, will be methodically disposed; that the authorities, both of Dodd, and of the Editor, will be carefully stated in the notes; and that a General Index to the contents of the whole work will be given at the end of the Continuation."*

After these preliminary observations, it is time that we turn from the author, and the more prominent features of his work, to the consideration of the volume now lying before us, which, in consequence of the new arrangement adopted by Mr. Tierney, is confined to history alone, and which, therefore, stretches over the long period of time intervening between the birth of Christ and the death of Henry VIII. We have already remarked, that Dodd passes rapidly over the first portion of this period; but that rapidity is only comparative, for he is always careful to detail the principal ecclesiastical occurrences under each reign, to draw the characters of the most distinguished churchmen, and to enumerate the charitable foundations, and the clerical and monastic establishments of the age. It may be, that his brevity on some of these subjects will disappoint the expectation of the professed antiquary; but we suspect that it will prove more acceptable to many, who may not think the history of that remote period sufficiently interesting to justify long and minute investigation. But he is more diffuse in the second part, when he comes to the relation of that spirit-stirring event, the religious revolution which took place in the reign of Henry VIII; and he narrates at considerable length, in five chapters, the divorce of the king from Catherine of Arragon; the annexation of the spiritual supremacy to the

* Preface, p. ix.—x.

crown; the dissolution, first of the lesser, then of the greater, monasteries; the policy and attempts of the reformers; and the death and character of Henry. Everywhere, in both divisions of the volume, he displays extensive reading, and a thorough acquaintance with his subject: everywhere his narrative bears the impress of an acute and vigorous mind. Dodd was not a bigot, predetermined to applaud whatever had been done by men of his own Church, and to distort or depreciate whatever had been done by their opponents. He judges for himself: and fearlessly pronounces his judgment, sparing not to condemn, where he thinks condemnation merited, and shrinking not from the probable displeasure of his own party, nor hesitating to encounter the prejudices of the other. His style is fluent and perspicuous, and will bear a comparison with that of the best writers of his age. But it is time that we introduce him more immediately to the acquaintance of our readers, by laying before them, as a specimen of his manner, some short extract from his writings. We take the following:—

"The story of this king's reign affords many other instances of his politic capacity. I will mention some of them. When the controversy about the divorce was set a-foot, though he could not obtain his ends in the manner he proposed, and according to the methods usually observed in such cases, which were determined by the authority of the see of Rome, yet he displayed his parts so, in that affair, as to omit nothing, that either human art or industry was capable of effecting, in order to bring it to bear; so that, excepting the strong fortress of divine law, his adversaries were beaten from all other posts, and seemingly, at least, came over to him, either by force or stratagem. But here it was, that his glorious character came first to be blasted; for neither the motives of this attempt were so pure, nor the methods he made use of so fair, but that many began to harbour an evil opinion of his sincerity, as well as of the justice of his cause. Afterwards, when he found it was necessary to break with the see of Rome, in order to obtain his desire as to the divorce, though he scandalized all Europe by the defection, yet he showed himself to be a perfect master of politic stratagems, by walking the pope gradually out of his supremacy, and drawing the whole nation imperceptibly after him. His proceedings, upon this occasion, both as to substance and manner, were irreconcileable to the character of a just and religious prince. But he suffered much more in his reputation, in the next step he took, which was the seizure of monastic lands. For here, vice laid aside a great part of her disguise, and plainly discovered her face, upon many occasions. However, it cannot be denied, but that he showed the vastness of his capacity, and, by artificially shuffling the cards, played a bad game with great success. For whatever arguments could be made use of, to seduce the

ignorant, surprise the unwary, tempt the licentious, or compel the stubborn, were employed with so much craft and address, that one half of the monasteries fell unpitied, while the rest seemed not to be wrested out of the monks' hands, but voluntarily surrendered. All this while, men of thought and penetration saw plainly through this thin disguise; for, though a reformation of abuses was the pretence, avarice was the real inducement. It is true, a great many national advantages were mentioned, to make the design more acceptable to the common people; and the king's late proceedings against the see of Rome might seem to require such an expedient: but how necessary soever the seizure of abbey lands might be, to support the king in his supremacy, against any attempts at home from the religious orders, it is certain his majesty was as much out, in his politics, as he was destitute of religion, in proceeding to an universal dissolution, as it quickly appeared from the many national inconveniences, which flowed from it.

"We have heard what king Henry VIII, was, as to his politic and martial abilities; the next consideration are his morals and religion. Historians commonly take a great deal of liberty in exposing the defects and faults of crowned heads, and treat them in such a manner, as if they had not as much right to their reputation, as the rest of mankind. I know king Henry is charged with a great many vices in private life, which is a point to be touched very tenderly; for though his public irregularities give occasion to judge the worst of him, yet it is not the part of a christian to improve suspicions into facts, nor is it always allowable to report real facts, to the prejudice of any person's character. Passing over in silence, therefore, the errors of king Henry's private life, I will only take notice of such passages as were notorious, and are publicly recorded by all our historians. And, in the first place, it would be a difficult task to answer for his sincerity, or to give so much as a tolerable reason for his scrupulosity about his marriage, after near twenty years' cohabitation with his queen. The like may be said of his applying himself so earnestly, and so frequently, to the see of Rome for a divorce, as the proper court where that matter was to be decided, and yet, afterwards, making a public declaration, that he never thought himself obliged to submit to any decision, that came from that authority. How unjustly did he treat his faithful minister, cardinal Wolsey!—first, indemnifying him, with his hand and seal, to exercise a legatine power; and, afterwards, suffering him to be impeached upon that account, and stripped of all his substance, and, at the same time, seizing, and keeping from him, the credentials, under the king's own hand and seal, whereby he might have defended himself. And was it not also a barbarous usage of all the clergy, to bring them in guilty of a premunire, for only incidentally concurring with the legatine court, which he himself required of them? Was it not proved, by punishing several of the misinformers, that he was resolved, right or wrong, to get the lesser monasteries into his hands?

And were not the great monasteries afterwards made a prey by him, notwithstanding their religious and edifying behaviour, approved of in parliament, upon the nicest scrutiny of their morals? Who can excuse him from a breach of his royal word, in the disposal he made of the lands and goods belonging to the Church? Did he not assure his people, that they should not be secularized, but transferred to other pious uses? that impropriations should be returned to the parochial clergy, the original proprietors; schools erected, colleges improved by additional rents, and armies maintained without loans and subsidies? Did ever any prince expose himself more to censure than king Henry VIII., in breaking through the ties of a matrimonial life, taking and parting with his wives without any regard to laws, either human or divine, and abandoning some of them to the fury of their enemies, till they lost their heads?"—pp. 314-17.

It should be remembered that a century has now elapsed since Dodd composed his work. During that time, and particularly during the more recent portion of it, the most extraordinary efforts have been made in this country to add to our former store of historical knowledge, and many new sources of information have been opened, which in the days of our author were locked up and unknown. Not only have single individuals laboured with the most praiseworthy diligence in this pursuit, but public associations have been formed, money has been voted by parliament, and commissions have been issued by the crown, to promote the same object. The consequence is, that out of public and private libraries, from the State Paper Office, the Record Office in the Tower, and the other national repositories, an immense mass of unknown or inedited documents has been brought to light, many of them calculated to supply the deficiencies, to correct the misstatements, and to illustrate the obscurities, which may be found to exist in our more ancient historians. These advantages were denied to Dodd and his contemporaries; but Mr. Tierney has remedied the defect, as far as applies to his author, by a succession of valuable notes, which, like a running commentary, accompany the original text. Of these notes we may be allowed to speak in terms of high commendation.* At the same time that they prove the research and industry of

* There is one of these with respect to which we must be allowed to differ from Mr. Tierney. (see p. 11, note 4.) He is disposed to think, with Stillingfleet and Collier, that the Civitas Colonia Londinensium, of which Adelphius, who subscribed at the council of Arles in 314, was bishop, must have been Caerlion; and that the original reading was Col. Leg. II, the colony of the second legion. In our opinion, there can be little doubt that the place was Lincoln, and the original reading Col. Lindum, or the Lind colony. Lincoln, in the "Itinera," is sometimes called Lindum simply, sometimes Lindum colonia, and in Bede Lindicolinum, or Civitas Lindicolina. (Bede, ii. 16, 18.)

the editor, they carefully abstain from all unnecessary parade of learning; and whilst they condense within a small space much important information, they shun that ambitious accumulation of references and quotations, which usually scares and repels the mere general reader. As the value of this edition depends on the value of these notes, we propose to select a few for transcription; the first of which will relate to the doctrine of Wycliffe. In 1382, in a synod convened by the archbishop of Canterbury,

"Twenty-four 'conclusions,' maintained by himself or his disciples, were condemned, ten as heretical, fourteen as erroneous and irreconcileable with the received opinions of the Church. From this sentence he appealed, first to the protection of the Duke of Lancaster, and afterwards to that of the parliament. Lancaster, however, refused to lend his assistance: the parliament contented itself with repealing an informal statute, lately passed against the new teachers; and the king despatched a letter to Oxford, requiring the chancellor to expel Wycliffe, with his followers, from the university, and ordering all books, treatises, and other writings of the late professor, to be forthwith seized and transmitted to the primate. Wycliffe now reluctantly consented to retract his errors. In the presence of the archbishop and six bishops, accompanied by the chancellor, a large body of doctors, and a numerous concourse of spectators, he read a confession of faith, and, retiring to Lutterworth, of which he was the rector, passed the two remaining years of his life in the undisturbed enjoyment of his own opinions. He died of an apoplectic attack, on the 31st of December, 1384.—Lewis, 83—93, 272, 286; Rot. Parl. iii. 124, 125, 141; Harpsf. 685, 686.

"Wycliffe has been called the father of the Reformation in this country. That his doctrines laid the foundation of that extraordinary event, there can be little doubt: that his opinions, however, on the most essential points of subsequent controversy, were opposed to those of the later reformers, is equally certain. With them, indeed, he condemned the tenet of transubstantiation: he denounced indulgences, pilgrimages, and the use of holy water: he denied the supremacy of the Roman see, and appealed to the Scripture, as the sole and undoubted rule in matters of belief. But here the resemblance terminates. On the subject of the eucharist, he appears to have entertained the notion, afterwards adopted by Luther, and to have maintained the existence of the bread, in conjunction with the reality of Christ's presence, on the altar. He admitted the seven sacraments of the Catholic Church: he believed in purgatory, as a place of temporary punishment; he asserted the efficacy of the mass, as a propitiatory sacrifice; and he zealously inculcated the duty of sacramental confession, 'with contrition for sins before don, and good life, and keeping God's hests, and works of mercy after' (Apud Lewis, 78, 124, 127, 129, 136, 137, 140). In these doctrines

it is impossible to trace the features of the English Reformation: it is equally hopeless to seek them in his recorded opinions on the subject of grace, on dominion or the right to property, on the power of the people to depose a ruler who may have been guilty of mortal sin, or on the criminality of those ministers of religion, who permit themselves to be endowed with temporal possessions. But truth is not essential to the character of a modern apostle, as conformity of belief is not the test of modern orthodoxy. If the opinions of Wycliffe were inadmissible, his example, at least, might entitle him to praise. By his opposition, he had severed himself from the Church of Rome; and it is the 'humour of some men,' says the Protestant Heylyn, 'to call every separation from that Church the gospel: the greater the separation, the more pure the gospel.' (Animadvers. on Fuller, 65).

"For a more detailed account of Wycliffe's doctrines and opinions, the reader may consult Walsingham, 191, 204—208, 246, 283—286; Knighton, 2647, et seq.; Browne's Fascicul. rer. expetend. i. 190—295; and Lewis, 42—46, 78—81, 89—91, 113—142."—pp. 148-149, *note.*

In another note, he thus corrects an error in his author respecting certain bulls granted at Rome to Henry.

"Dodd confounds the bull of dispensation, which was published and avowed, with the decretal bull, whose contents were carefully concealed. When Knight was dispatched to Rome, in 1527, he was instructed to obtain the signature of the pontiff to two instruments, one containing the dispensation just recited, the other empowering Wolsey, or, if *he* were objected to, Staphilæo, dean of the Rota, to hear and decide the cause between Henry and Catherine. Clement signed both these documents, the former as it stood, the latter with some trifling alterations; he even assented to a farther and subsequent request, for the appointment of a legate, to act in conjunction with Wolsey; and, by the beginning of the new year, the several bulls were already on their road to England (Burnet, i. Rec. No. iii. iv. v. vi.). But Wolsey was beginning to feel the difficulty and danger of his situation. On the one hand, he might be driven to decide on a doubtful point of doctrine; on the other, the queen might deny the jurisdiction of his court, and appeal at once to the supreme tribunal. In either case the pontiff would revoke the cause to Rome: the decision of the question would be deferred to an indefinite period; and the king would, perhaps, be ultimately disappointed in his expectations, 'to the utter and extreme peril of all those that had intromeddled them in the cause.' (Strype, i. Append. 83.) To obviate these inconveniences, Fox and Gardiner, both advocates of the divorce, were ordered to proceed instantly to Rome, and to obtain, either by threats or entreaties, the signature of Clement to two instruments, with which they were provided. The first was a dispensation, not dissimilar in purpose, from that already granted to Knight: the

second was called a decretal commission, deciding the point of doctrine, pronouncing authoritatively against the legality of any dispensation for a marriage with the widow of a brother, and, whilst it left the question of fact to the judgment of the legatine court, engaging, on the part of the pope, never to admit an appeal, or revoke the cause to his own tribunal. To the dispensation Clement willingly attached his name: to the decretal commission he resolutely refused to lend the sanction of his authority. It was in vain that the envoys urged him with every topic of persuasion. It was in vain that they reminded him of his obligations to the English crown, that they threatened him with the loss of Henry's friendship, that they promised to conceal the existence of the document from all but the immediate advisers of their sovereign. He replied that he would never prejudice the interests of an absent party, and that what he could not conscientiously grant in public, he would never accede to in private. At length, instead of the decretal bull, a general commission was drawn up and signed. Wolsey was empowered to call to his assistance any one of the English bishops; to enquire summarily into the validity of the dispensation formerly granted to Henry and Catherine; and 'to pronounce, in defiance of exception or appeal, the dispensation to have been valid or invalid, the marriage to have been null or otherwise, according to the nature of the evidence, and the conviction of his own conscience.' (Strype.) When Wolsey first read this document, he declared that he was satisfied: but, in a few days, his doubts returned: he saw that his difficulties were rather multiplied than diminished, by the authority now entrusted to him; and he resolved to make at least another effort, to procure the commission which had been refused. With this view, he despatched fresh instructions to the agents at Rome. He wrote to Gregory Casali; he addressed a suppliant letter to the pontiff; he implored the former to solicit, the latter to grant, the only favour that could preserve him from destruction; and he promised, 'on the salvation of his soul,' so faithfully to conceal the existence of the bull that neither censure nor suspicion should possibly attach to the conduct of the pontiff. Clement was unable to resist the importunity with which he was now assailed. After an ineffectual struggle, he first gave a written promise never to revoke the cause, or reverse the decision of the legates, and then signed the decretal commission, as it had been originally forwarded from England. But he was careful not to entrust it to the doubtful fidelity of Wolsey. That minister, by his anxiety to obtain the instrument, had already betrayed his willingness to use it for the furtherance of his own ends; and, to prevent its publication, therefore, it was placed in the hands of Campeggio, who was appointed to proceed to England as legate, to be by him read to Henry and the cardinal, and then forthwith committed to the flames. (Burnet, i. Rec. p. 39.) Of this instrument no copy is now extant: but of its existence and purport, though apparently questioned by Dodd, and certainly denied by Le Grand (i. 91-93), there can be

no doubt. By Henry himself we are informed that it was 'delivered to the legate,' we are assured that it pronounced the marriage between himself and Catherine invalid, if that between Catherine and his brother could, only by 'presumption,' be proved to have been consummated; and we are farther told, that, by 'commandment of the pope, after and because he would not have the effect thereof to ensue, it was, after the sight thereof, imbesiled by the foresaid cardinals (Burnet, iii. Rec. p. 60). The engagement not to revoke the cause, or reverse the judgment of the legates, which Dodd characterizes, as 'a contrivance never likely to take effect,' is in Burnet, iii. Rec. p. 18, and Herbert, 249.—pp. 183-5, *note.*

In another note, Mr. Tierney has been able to clear up a matter, which, till the appearance of this volume, was wrapped in doubt. The divorce met with the disapproval of the Reformers, both in England and Germany; and not only Luther, but Melancthon, pronounced an opinion that it would be better, in such a case, to allow to the king to have two wives at the same time, than to divorce him from one whom he had had for so many years. Whether this suggested the expedient to Henry, is uncertain; but he instructed his agents at Rome to open the question,—not, as Mr. Tierney justly observes, by proposing it expressly to the pope, but by consulting divines and canonists as to the lawfulness of such a dispensation. Now, in a letter to Henry, from Gregorio da Casali, one of the agents, of the date of Sept. 18, 1530, we read, that Clement himself proposed it to that envoy as a "condition," or means, of enabling the king to accomplish his purpose without a divorce;* and hence it has been insinuated, with more precipitancy than judgment, that the pope, though he would not assent to a divorce, through fear, perhaps, of the emperor's resentment, was willing to sanction, what was still worse, the practice of polygamy, that he might not forfeit the friendship of the English monarch.† Had Casali understood it in the same way, he would probably have accepted the proposal with satisfaction, having been one of those commissioned to take the opinions of divines respecting it: but he tells the king that he refused to make any answer, or to notice the hint in his despatches, because he knew beforehand that it had come from Henry's enemies, of the imperial faction. This alone was sufficient to provoke suspicion, either of some diplomatic finesse on the part of Clement, or of some deception on the part of Casali. Fortunately, it chances that Mr. Tierney has in his possession the original despatch of Dr. Bennet, another agent,

* Herbert, 330. † Burnet, i. 99; Hallam, "Constitutional Hist." i. 73.

dated the 27th of October, in the same year, a portion of which refers to the very same subject, and explains the whole mystery.

"Syre, schortly after my camyng hether, the pope movyd unto me of a dispensation for two wyffis, whyche he spake at the same tyme so dowgtfully, that I suspectyd that he spake yt for oon of the too purposis: the oon was, that I schuld have sette yt foreward to your hyghnes, to thentent, that, yff your hyghnes woold have aceptyd hyt, therby he schuld have goten a mean to bryng your hyghnes to graunt, that, yff he myght dispense yn thys case, whyche ys of no lesse force then your case ys, consequently he myght dyspense yn your hyghnes' case. The other was, that I conjectured that yt schuld be a thyng purposyd to enterteygne your hyghnes yn summe hope, wherby he myght differ your cawse, to thentent your grace schuld trust apon the same. Then I axed hys holynes whether he was fully resolved that he myght dyspense yn the same case? Then hys holynes schewed me no: but seyd that a great dyvine schewed him that he thowght, for avoydyng of a gretter inconvenience, hys holynes myght dyspense yn the same case: how be yt, he seyd he woold councel farder apon hyt with hys councel. And now, of late, the pope schewed me that hys councel schewed hym playnly that he cowd not do yt."—*Dodd*, i. *App.* p. 394.

Mr. Tierney shows that no intention of the nature alluded to existed on the part of the pontiff. It is plain that the agent never supposed the suggestion to be meant seriously, and that by his questions he ultimately drew from the pope an acknowledgment, that it was not in his power to grant any such dispensation.*

In a note to p. 287, we meet with the following curious reference to the account-roll of Sir John Williams, the keeper of the jewels to Henry VIII, which contains an inventory of all the plate, jewels, and other valuables, obtained by the king from the plunder of the religious houses.

"From this it appears, that in plate alone there were taken from the monasteries, cathedrals, and shrines, 14,531 ounces of gold, 67,600 ounces of silver, and 207,635 ounces of silver gilt: making, with the addition of some fractional parts, a total in gold and silver, of rather more than 289,768 ounces of plate. This was sold for £73,531. 15*s*. 1*d*. to which, if we add the further sum of £79,471. 5*s*. 9¾*d*. obtained in money, and entered on the same roll, we shall have a gross amount of £153,003. 0*s*. 10¾*d*. derived to the exchequer, over and above the produce of all the lands and estates of the monasteries."

With respect to the numerous acts of parliament, public

* Dodd, 207, *note*, and Appendix, p. 394.

documents, and private letters, which Dodd has thrown into several chapters, and distributed through the eight parts of his work, it is the intention of his editor to remove them from the places which they occupy in the original, and to form out of them a corresponding appendix for each volume, exercising at the same time his own discretion as to the omission of some documents, and the substitution of others. Among the additions in the appendix of the volume before us, we are much pleased with the introduction of the celebrated letters of Henry to Anne Boleyn, still preserved in the Vatican library;—letters, of which the delicacy of Mr. S. Turner has pronounced, that they are models of chaste and honourable courtship; but of which we suspect that most readers, in several instances at least, will feel compelled to pronounce a very different judgment. Subsequently we meet with a number of hitherto inedited papers, from originals in the possession of Mr. Tierney, among which we recommend to the notice of the reader a long despatch from Dr. Bennet to Henry, detailing at length the proceedings in the cause of the divorce at Rome in the autumn of 1530, and several sets of instructions from the king, accompanied with letters from his minister Cromwell to Dr. Gardiner and the ambassadors in France; the object of which is to prevail on Francis to imitate Henry in the withdrawal of himself and his realm from their obedience to the holy see. They will amply repay the trouble of perusal.*

Our readers will have observed that in this article it has been our object to make them acquainted with the character of the original work, and with the improvements which they may expect to find in the new edition. They should, however, recollect, as we have reminded them already, that the first volume is the least important of the series. The remaining volumes will continue to grow in interest, inasmuch as they will detail events bearing a more immediate relation to the present state of the Catholic Church in this kingdom, and will bring into view a long succession of writers, men of celebrity in their day, and of confessors and martyrs, the legal victims of religious intolerance, who suffered the fate of traitors to their prince, because they refused to be disloyal to their God. Of such men, even those who disapprove the cause, must admire the constancy.

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* In the appendix, the articles numbered xiv. xlvii. and xlviii., though they have been published in other works, are additions to Dodd; the numbers xx. xxx. xxxi. xxxvii. xlii. xliv. xlvi., were never in print before. They are entirely new, being printed from the originals in the possession of the editor.

ART. V.—*Remains of the late Reverend Richard H. Froude, M. A., Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford.* Vol. II. London: 1838.

IT is not often that the leaders of opinions let the public into a view of their secret counsels and feelings; but when they do, we think it does credit to the uprightness and sincerity of their intentions. It shows that they wish us to be acquainted with the secret springs of their actions, and even to peer behind the veil which generally conceals the man from our sight, while we are viewing only his productions. Nay, the more unreservedly the human weaknesses of the individuals are revealed, and the more the feeling is expressed, that with their exposure, or in spite of it, their cause will succeed, the more highly we shall estimate their confidence in the correctness of their views, and the disinterestedness of their zeal in propagating them. These reflections have been suggested to us by the perusal of Mr. Froude's remains. He was, while living, one of the most enthusiastic members of the theological school, from which the *Tracts for the Times* have emanated. He died in 1836, having attained only the age of thirty-three; and was thus prevented from arriving at that full maturity of religious ideas which was evidently preparing in his mind, and bearing him onward towards the perception of many Catholic truths. His surviving friends have thought it expedient to collect his *Remains*, and give them to the world in two volumes. As the second of these consists principally of sermons, in which, though there is much to commend, there is nothing sufficiently interesting to detain us, we will confine ourselves entirely to the first, which contains his journals, private thoughts, and letters to friends.

A preface of twenty-two pages betrays the editors' anxiety to repel a twofold charge; one against themselves, the other against their deceased friend. In the first place, they seem to fear lest considerable censure may be cast upon them for the publication of Mr. Froude's crude theories, and trivial self-accusations, as something approaching to a sacrilegious violation of the rights of friendship. We are not disposed to take part either among the reprovers, or among the applauders of the act: we cannot but feel that we should have scarcely ventured to deal as they have done, with any one who had tranquilly looked up to us with a confiding heart, and the peace of whose memory we should have wished to consult.

When one whose noble and public proofs of great virtue far outweigh the errors of youth, or whose public reputation makes his example, when evil, a warning, and when repentant, a reparation and an encouragement;—when one, in short, like St. Augustine, boldly, but humbly, reveals to the eyes of the Church the wretchedness of his early sinful life, we admire in awe the strange manifestation of a sublime spirit of Christian virtue, and we bless the Divine wisdom that hath caused it to be vouchsafed to us. But the struggles of one who has not compensated his weaknesses by any noble results; who withdraws from our sight a combatant, and not a victor; who only presents us the spectacle of a frail nature, such as we all may have, wrestling with daily and anxious trials, and not overcoming them; these, too, not spontaneously exhibited, but transferred from the closet to the public arena, have neither the grandeur nor the instruction of the other lesson. Still, there may be reasons unknown to us, who are not in the secrets of the party, to justify, certainly in their own eyes, this sacrifice of private feeling to a sense of public utility. Some, the editors have given in the preface (pp. vi.—ix.), and it is for the public to judge of them;—we think, in fact, that they would have materially strengthened their reasoning by the following passage in his Letters to Friends:—

> "There was a passage in a letter I have just received from my father, that made me feel so infinitely dismal, that I must write to you about it. He says you have written to him to learn something about me, and to ask what to do with my money. *It really made me feel as if I was dead, and you were sweeping up my remains; and, by the by, if I was dead, why should I be cut off from the privilege of helping on the good cause?* I don't know what money I have left—little enough, I suspect; but, whatever it was, I am superstitious enough to think that any good it could do *in honorem 'Dei et sacrosanctæ matris ecclesiæ,'* would have done something too '*in salutem animæ meæ.*'"—vol. i. p. 388.

From these words, it appears that the author did contemplate his power of doing good to the cause wherein he was so ardently engaged, even after his death.

The censure of their friend, which the editors foresee, is that which forms their bugbear in all their theological researches,—that of approaching too near the Catholic, or, as they call it, Romanist doctrines. They are therefore careful to distinguish between two meanings attached to the term: "either a predilection for the actual system of the Church of

Rome, as distinguished from other parts of Christendom, and particularly for the English Church,* or an overweening value for outward religion, for sacraments, Church polity, public worship, &c." (p. x.) With the first definition of Romanism in view, the editors proceed to prove that Mr. Froude could not have this laid to his charge. To this we assent. That there must have unfortunately been some barrier between him and the Catholic Church, every one will imagine, who knows that he died without its pale. But we must express our conviction, that the editors have not done much credit to their friend by the manner in which they have thought it right to shield his memory from the charge. It consists in a careful collection of some of the most hasty, unhandsome, and decidedly unreasonable, judgments and opinions of the author, respecting chiefly what he saw in his travels. We consider the dilemma worth illustrating, that either they were so much at a loss for a set-off against his noble avowal of many Catholic truths, that they must be content with the worst specimens of his reasoning powers, or else that the wall of separation between him and the Catholic Church, as well as the cords which bound him to his own sect, were too flimsy and weak, as being mere matters of prejudice and false feeling, to have long resisted the evidence of truth. In either case, he presents a melancholy instance of how small a grain of prepossession is thought sufficient to overbalance a solid weight of good arguments. For instance, take the following proof of the author's not being a Romanist:—

"How Whiggery has by degrees taken up all the filth that has been secreted in the fermentation of human thought! Puritanism, Latitudinarianism, *Popery,* Infidelity; they have it all now, and good luck to them!"—*Pref.* p. xi.

Truly this sentence betrays alienation enough from our religion; but we do not think it does much honour to the writer's good sense, to wedge this between the various brood of the Reformation. Neither is it evidence of more than a political, hot-brained antagonism, rather than of a sober, rational judgment. Again: "I have seen the priest laughing when at the confessional; and, indeed, it is plain that, unless they made light of very gross immorality, three-fourths of

* If the reprehensible system, misnamed by these gentlemen Romanism, consist of all those parts of the Catholic religion which differ from the English Church, how comes it that so many of its practices, disciplines, and even dogmas, are objects of envy and covetous desire to these very writers and their friend Mr. Froude?

the population [of Naples] would be excommunicated." (p. xiii.) Really, is this passage worthy of being pressed into the editors' service? Had Mr. Froude never witnessed disrespectful behaviour in his own Church? If he ever had, would he have allowed of the generalization to all his establishment, implied in the quotation against our hierarchy! Mr. Froude had no evidence that a confession was actually going on, when he saw the priest at Naples laugh; for persons often go to the confessional, to speak to the priest on urgent matters. But we think we have farther to complain of the editors, for leaving us to understand, by the form of their quotation, that Mr. Froude witnessed some terrible scenes of gross immorality, involving three-fourths of a population of 300,000 souls. Now we think the sentence which follows the passage quoted, but which in this extract is prudently concealed under a few unmeaning dots, would have at once opened the eyes of the sensible reader to the character of the scenes of gross immorality intimated; scenes in which, perhaps, he has himself joined, without being conscious that he ought to be excommunicated. The hiatus should be supplied as follows:—"I think people are injudicious who talk against the Roman Catholics for worshipping saints, and honouring the Virgin, images, &c.: these things may be idolatrous—I cannot make up mind about it; but, to my mind, *it is the carnival*, which is real, practical idolatry; as it is written, 'the people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play.'" (p. 294.) We might ask, are all the English who frequent a fair, or a theatre, or a ball, to be accounted idolaters? Why not, if the poor Neapolitans are, for their carnival sports? In fine, before he left Naples, he corrected what he had so unreflectingly written concerning the character of the priests, saying that he "could not be quite confident of his information, as it affected them." We think not; and farther acquaintance with them, or inquiries concerning them, would have still further diminished his confidence in it. He even owns that his opinion concerning the idolatry of the Italians is an opinion grounded upon "a generalization, for which he has not sufficient data." (p. xiv.)

We think we are justified in saying that proofs of Mr. Froude's disinclination to Catholicity must have been very scarce, to have led the editors to bring together these superficial observations, made during a brief residence in a Catholic city, not generally reputed the most edifying in its conduct. These, however, will not bear comparison with the growing

and expanding tendency of his mind towards everything Catholic; and we cannot help feeling, as we peruse his later declarations, that the passages brought so prominently forward by his editors, would have been among those which, dying, he would have wished to blot. Our readers shall soon judge for themselves.

The "Extracts from Journal" present us a picture, at once pleasing and distressing, of a mind yearning after interior perfection, yet at a loss about the means of attaining it; embarked on an ocean of good desires, but without stars or compass by which to steer its course. The minute scrutiny into the motives of his actions, the distress occasioned by discovering his relapses into faults which most would overlook, show a sensitiveness of conscience in the youthful writer, far more honourable to him, and far more interesting to us, than abilities of a much higher order than what he really possessed, could ever have appeared. There are passages in the Journals which will come home to the inward experience of any one that has looked narrowly into the more mysterious workings of his own mind, and sought to unravel that maze of apparently conflicting influences which seem to impel him towards a single action, leaving him afterwards in sad perplexity which of them it was that moved him to it, or gave colour and character thereto. How far it may be advisable to commit to paper, even for personal benefit, these investigations of our most secret tribunal, we have considerable doubt; and instructive as is their record in the case before us, in nothing is it more so than in the proof it gives us of the necessity of guidance for the conscience and heart, such as the institutions of the Catholic Church alone provide. In the account which he gives of his own infirmities, of his almost fruitless attempts to subdue them, and of the pain and anxiety produced by his solitary struggles, he presents a picture familiar to the experienced eye of any spiritual director in our Church, and a state fully described and prescribed for by the numerous writers whom we possess upon the inward life, and the direction of consciences. Many are they who are tossed in the same billows of secret tribulation,—many are they who are bewildered in the same mazes of mental perplexity; but they have not at least the additional horrors, and darkness, and night. Ere they can sink, a hand is stretched out, if they will only grasp it. The troubles and trials which haunt minds constituted as Mr. Froude's, many a skilful guide would have shown him to be mere illusive

phantoms, that only serve to turn the attention away from serious dangers, or from solid good,—snares cast, by a restlessness of spirit, upon the path, to entangle the feet that tread it.

In fact, we miss throughout these Journals those higher thoughts, and those more vigorous springs of action, which might have been naturally expected in one determined to attain, even by extraordinary efforts, a sublimer degree of virtue. When we read the lives of our great saints, we see a certain proportion kept between the progress of their interior perfection, and the vigour of their austerities. It is only in extraordinary cases, that the first steps in a saintly life are marked by penitential severities of a higher order: these are gradually increased with an increasing humility and love of suffering. Moreover, there has ever been a rule and principle to guide them throughout, such as the appointed times and methods prescribed by the Church, the direction of prudent and experienced men, as even a self-imposed, but well-observed method of regular life. But the young man, whose autobiography is presented to us in this volume, seems to have had no idea of proportion, or of definite object, in his austerities. Fasting seems to have been considered as an end, and not a means, and practised for its own sake; or, if intended for the augmentation of some other good gift, there was a mere vague and indefinite notion of its power, without a specific aim, or a sense of the necessity of other and more important spiritual exercises. Hence we find no mention of any steady, regular system of daily meditation, such as has always been practised by all who wish to train themselves up to virtue in our Church, or of daily examination into the state of the conscience, independently of the equivocal plan of registering failings, from time to time, for future perusal. His fasting is without rule or reference to becoming order, unaccompanied by that retirement, and more serious occupation, which would naturally go with it. It was observed on the Sunday (p. 16), contrary to the usages of the ancient Church; and on any other day, subject to the remorse of being broken through at evening, on the temptation of company, or some other unforeseen seduction (pp. 42, 49).

He even went beyond these more usual austerities, and attempted those which a prudent director would have forbidden, or would have reserved for a more disciplined state of mind. This will be shown by the following extracts:—

"I was not up till half-past six; slept on the floor, and a nice uncomfortable time I had of it. I had on a mustard plaister,

nearly three hours after I returned from Lloyd's; could not bear it longer: I believe it has answered. Tasted nothing to-day till tea-time; and then only one cup, and dry bread. Somehow, it has not made me at all uneasy." (p. 30.) "Nov. 12. Felt great reluctance to sleep on the floor last night, and was nearly arguing myself out of it; was not up till half-past six." (p. 44.)

The consequence of all this irregular and undirected austerity, into which with youthful eagerness he rushed, was, that instead of deriving thence vigour of thought, and closer intimacy with some spiritual feelings, his spirit, on the contrary, flagged, and at length grew weary, and so fell into that despondency which failure will produce in sensitive minds. This discouragement is visible in many parts of his Journals; for instance:—

"Yet I cannot venture to give myself credit for abstinence, as I found so little difficulty, that, unless my appetite is more subdued than I can suppose, I could not have been hungry. I do not feel any satisfaction in the day; for though I have fasted, I have not turned it to any end for which the fast was instituted. My thoughts have been very wandering. I have been neither able to read nor pray: I could not even fix my mind on Mr. Bonnel's reflections on that very subject. I have not watched myself close enough to be able to record the weaknesses of this evening, but have a general impression that I have not been what I ought." (p. 34.)

"I broke my fast at tea, of which, however, I allowed myself to make a meal. I deliberately think that it will be better for me to discontinue for a time these voluntary self-denials; I am quite exhausted by them, little as they have been, and feel incapacitated for executing my duties. Very likely, after a short respite, I may return with greater vigour; and I think the impression already made will not go off in a moment. *Nov.* 18. I have slackened my rules to-day, and let go my dreamy feelings, that have been keeping me up. Bad as I am, it seems as if I might, not indeed be too penitent, but penitent in a wrong way; abstinences and self-mortifications may themselves be a sort of intemperance; a food to my craving after some sign that I am altering. They ought not to be persevered in, farther than as they are instrumental to a change of character in things of real importance; and the lassitude which I have felt lately, is a sign that they will do me no good just for the present. It is curious to see, how, by denying one affection, we gratify another; and how hard it is to keep a pure motive for anything. The sensible way is to watch for our predominant affection, as each gets the uppermost, and give it our chief attention: mine, just now, is impatience at finding myself remain the same, in spite of any difference of conduct I adopt. But, while I give up punishing myself in my eating, I must be very careful not to indulge."—p. 49-50.

The want of direction and counsel, which the Catholic Church so eminently supplies, is evident from his letters. Thus, he writes to Mr. Keble:—"The fact is, that I have been in a very strange way all the summer; and having had no one to talk to about the things which have bothered me, I have been every now and then getting into fits of enthusiasm or despondency." (p. 204.) This will be the inevitable result of the absence of control upon a fervid mind, that seeks after a degree, or rather a character, of excellence, superior to that of others around it. In fact, Mr. Froude discovered that most important principle, that obedience to the ordinances of authority gives the great merit to the first degrees of penitential works; those which belong to ordinary Christians, such, that is, as have not reached the perfection of ascetic life. The same friendly monitor, just referred to, seems to have solemnly undeceived him on this important point. For in 1827, he writes to him as follows:—

"I am glad of your advice about penance, for my spirit was so broken down, that I had no vigour to go on even with the trifling self-denials I had imposed on myself; besides, I feel that, though it has in it the colour of humility, it is in reality the food of pride. Self-imposed, it seems to me quite different from when imposed by the Church; and even fasting itself, to weak minds, is not free from evil, when, however secretly it is done, one cannot avoid the consciousness of being singular."—p. 212.

This it is that forms at once the great merit and the great support of those who profess the monastic institute; and the absence in Protestantism of that strong principle of docility and obedience which the Catholic Church inculcates, is an insuperable bar to the introduction of it among Anglicans, which Mr. Froude and his friends seem to have anxiously desired.

While he seems so taken up, through his Journals, with examination of his fasts and austerities, we miss from his pages those cheerful views of religion which result from confidence and love; from the consciousness of a strong will to do Him service, and an humble reliance on His mercy, which will measure that, rather than our success. What snatches there are of prayer, bear more the character of one sinking under the fatigue of foiled attempts, and troubled with anxiety from hopelessness of success, than of a young and trusting mind, that presses forward to a work it deems glorious,—the work of God and his religion.

But all these faults, which flowed from the religion to

which he unfortunately belonged, only beget sympathy in our minds, when reading his ingenuous journals. We see no room for the levity and ridicule with which they have been commented on by some periodicals, nor for the harsh censures of his character, which they have based upon them. We certainly think that his ardent way—more, perhaps, of expressing himself, than of feeling—leads him often to a harsh and reckless manner of speaking of others, that must give an unfavourable impression regarding his character, which we have every reason to believe was amiable and gentle. Still, there are so many fine points about him; so much distrust of himself, blended with no inconsiderable powers of genius; so much independence of thought, coupled with deference to the sentiments of others, whom he esteemed more learned or more virtuous than himself; so much lightness of spirit, united to such seriousness of mind upon religious truths;—in fine, so earnest and sincere a desire to improve and perfect himself, that our feelings lead us to pass lightly over his faults, and dwell with pleasure upon his finer qualities. If we have dilated somewhat upon the former, it has been that we considered them the result of the system to which he was by education attached, and which is alone accountable for them.

As, however, he increased in years, his mind began to open to the defects and wants of that system, and boldly to conceive the necessity of correcting them. In this he ran manifestly before his fellows, and seemed only to have been prevented by his premature death from reaching the goal of Catholic unity, to which we sincerely hope they are tending. Mr. Froude was one of the contributors to the *Tracts for the Times;* but does not seem to have been satisfied with the point at which the principles of that collection stopped short. He evidently saw that consistency of reasoning ought to have carried his friends farther than they ventured to go; and we think he was prepared to go to the extreme of logical deductions. But we must methodize our observations.

A symptom, which begins at first more faintly, and then deepens in intensity towards the end of his life, is a disgust for Protestantism and the so-called Reformation. In 1833, we have the following sentiments:—

"*Sept.* 8. I have been reading a good deal about the Reformation in Queen Elizabeth's time: it is shocking, indeed. What do you think of my contemplating *An Apology for the Early Puritans?* I really think they deserve much commiseration. The Episcopa-

lians did not claim '*jus divinum*;' indeed, Queen Elizabeth and her party considered her as the origin of ecclesiastical power."—p. 325.

When at Barbados, whither he went for his health, he applied himself to the study of the older controvertists and Reformers, and certainly in no wise increased his respect for them. Thus he writes in 1834:—

" Imprimis, as to ——'s friend, Jewell. He calls the mass 'your cursed paltrie service;' laughs at the apostolical succession, both in principle and as a fact; and says that the only succession worth having is the succession of doctrine.* He most distinctly denies the sacrament of the Lord's supper to be a means of grace, as distinguished from a pledge, calling it a 'phantasie of Mr. Harding's.'† He says, the only keys of the kingdom of heaven are *instruction* and *correction*,‡ and the only way they open the kingdom is by touching men's consciences; that binding and retaining is preaching that 'God will punish wickedness;' loosing and remitting that 'God will pardon, on repentance and faith;'§ justifies Calvin for saying, that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper 'were superfluous,' if we remembered Christ's death enough without it;|| ridicules the consecration of the elements, and indirectly explains that the way the body and blood are verily received, is that they are *received into our remembrance*.¶ I have got chapter and verse for all this, and would send you my extracts, if it was not too much trouble to copy them out. Certainly the Council of Trent had no fair chance of getting at the truth, if they saw no alternative between transubstantiation and Jewellism."—p. 339.

This was in January; in October, his dislike of the godly work of reformation, and its authors, had manifestly increased. For he writes concerning them as follows:—

" As to the Reformers, I think worse and worse of them. Jewell was what you would in these days call an irreverent dissenter. His 'Defence of his Apology' disgusted me more than almost any work I have read. Bishop Hickes and Dr. Brett I see go all lengths with me in this respect, and I believe Laud did. The preface to the *Thirty-nine Articles* was certainly intended to disconnect us from the Reformers."—p. 379.

The following is two months later:—

" When I get your letter, I expect a rowing for my Roman Catholic sentiments. Really I hate the Reformation and the Reformers more and more, and have almost made up my mind that the rationalist spirit they set afloat is the ψευδοπροφήτης of the Revelations. I have a theory about the beast, and woman too, which conflicts with yours; but I will not inflict it on you now. I have written

* Def. of Apol. p. 120, 123, 139, ed. 1611. † Ib. p. 208. ‡ Ib. 149, 153.
§ Ib. 151. || Ib. 152, 155. ¶ Ib. 210, 212.

nothing for a long time, and only read in a desultory, lounging way; but really it is not out of idleness, for I find that the less I do, the better I am; and so, on principle, resist doing a good deal that I am tempted to."—p. 389.

The subjoined extract will prove his opinion of the worthies in whose honour his own university has been proposing to erect a church.

"Also, why do you praise Ridley?" [in the *Tracts for the Times*, we presume, where he receives the epithet of the *cautious*, in regard to the doctrine of the Eucharist.] "Do you know sufficient good about him to counterbalance the fact that he was the associate of Cranmer, Peter Martyr, and Bucer? N.B. How beautifully the *Edinburgh Review* has shown up Luther, Melancthon, and Co.! What good genius has possessed them to do our dirty work? *Pour moi*, I never mean, if I can help it, to use any phrases even, which can connect me with such a set. I shall never call the Holy Eucharist 'the Lord's supper;' nor God's priests 'ministers of the word;' or the altar 'the Lord's table,' &c. &c.; innocent as such phrases are in themselves, they have been dirtied; a fact of which you seem oblivious on many occasions. Nor shall I even abuse the Roman Catholics, *as a Church*, for anything, except excommunicating us."—p. 394.

In order to measure the progress which his mind had made in justly appreciating the characters of the Fathers of the Reformation, we may go back to an earlier period than any from which we have quoted, and see the cautious and measured language in which he thought it right to speak of them. The following is from a letter dated Jan. 29, 1832:—

"I have been very idle lately; but have taken up Strype now and then, and have not increased my admiration of the Reformers. *One must not speak lightly of a martyr; so I do not allow my opinions to pass the verge of scepticism.* But I really do feel sceptical whether Latimer was not something in the Bulteel line; whether the Catholicism of their formulæ was not a concession to the feelings of the nation, with whom Puritanism had not yet become popular, and who could scarcely bear the alterations which were made; and whether the progress of things in Edward the Sixth's minority may not be considered as the jobbing of a faction. *I will do myself the justice to say, that those doubts give me pain, and that I hope more reading will in some degree dispel them.* As far as I have gone, too, I think better than I was prepared to do of Bonner and Gardiner. Certainly the ἦθος of the Reformation is to me a *terra incognita*; and I do not think that it has been explored by any one that I have heard talk about it."—p. 251.

We have already seen how far subsequent reading was from

dispelling these innocent doubts concerning those men, and how very much more daring his language became, when speaking of such *martyrs*.

With the growing dislike, or rather hatred, of the Reformation and its authors, we trace an increasing approach to Catholic truths and practices: General expressions to this effect will be found in the passages already quoted. We may contrast with his sentiments respecting the Reformers, his judgment of one of their great opponents: "The person whom I like best of all I have read about, is Cardinal Pole. He seems a hero of an ideal world; an union of chivalrous and Catholic feeling, like one hopes to find people, before one reads about them." (p. 254.) The following passage will show how disposed he had become, in 1834, to judge favourably of Catholic practices, even when not clearly discoverable in the writings of the early ages, and to cast the burthen of disproving them upon others, rather than call us for evidence.

"You will be shocked at my avowal, that I am every day becoming a less and less loyal son of the Reformation. It seems to me plain, that, in all matters that seem to us indifferent, or even doubtful, we should conform our practices to those of the Church, which has preserved its traditionary practices unbroken. We cannot know about any seemingly indifferent practice of the Church of Rome, that it is not a development of the apostolic ἦθος; and it is to no purpose to say that we can find no proof of it in the writings of the six first centuries; they must find a *dis*proof, if they would do anything."—p. 336.

It may be well, however, to examine the progress of his views on specific subjects. And first as to the blessed Eucharist. We find him early desirous of going beyond the timid phraseology of his party, and admitting in the priesthood such power as the Catholic Church alone admits. The following is in 1833:—

"*Sept.* 16. —— has sent me your resolutions for our association, which I think excellent, only I should like to know why you flinch from saying that the power of making the body and blood of Christ is vested in the successors of the Apostles: it seems to me much simpler, and less open to cavil, than 'continuance, and due applica-cation of the sacrament.'"—p. 326.

In another place he supports the use of this phraseology, as applied to the Blessed Sacrament, from the words of Bishop Bull, who writes: "We are not ignorant that the ancient Fathers generally teach that the bread and wine in the Eucharist, by and upon the consecration of them, do become, and *are made*, the body and blood of Christ." (p. 363.) In

1835, he condemns what he calls the Protestant doctrine of the Eucharist in strong terms. These are his words:—

"I am more and more indignant at the Protestant doctrine on the subject of the Eucharist; and think that the principle on which it is founded is as proud, irreverent, and foolish, as that of any heresy, even Socinianism."—p. 391.

Still more, writing to the author of the *Christian Year*, he blames him for denying that Christ is in the hands of the priest or receiver, as well as in his heart.

"Next as to the Christian year. In the [*hymn for the*] fifth of November......' there present in the heart, not in the hands,' &c. How can we possibly know that it is true to say, 'not in the hands?' Also [in the hymn] on the Communion......you seem cramped by Protestantism."—p. 403.

These passages show how far prepared he was to outstrip his friends in approximation to Catholic doctrines and Catholic expressions. For when once it is conceded that by the words of consecration bread and wine *are made* the body and blood of Christ; and that in such sort, as that not only is the body present when received, but that it may be actually said to be in the hand of one who holds the sacred species; very little indeed, beyond the acceptance of fitting forms of expression, and terms to embody these doctrines, is wanting for the complete assent to the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist. To these passages we may add other two, in which the Liturgy, or Mass, is spoken of. The first occurs in p. 366, where he says that the Liturgies "are a death-blow to Protestantism, if Palmer is right about their antiquity and independence." The other shows still more clearly his judgment of the Mass, and of the somewhat disparaging manner in which it had been mentioned by his friends. Speaking of some one in Barbados, he says:—

"For a long time he looked on me as a mere sophister; but Perceval conciliated his affections with Palmer's chapter on the Primitive Liturgies; and I verily believe that he would now gladly consent to see our communion service replaced by a good translation of the liturgy of St. Peter; a name which I advise you to substitute, in your notes to ——, for the obnoxious phrase 'mass-book.'"* —p. 387.

The state of celibacy, and with it the monastic life, seems

* Mr. Froude seems to have had a practical, no less than a theoretical, admiration of the Breviary; as appears from the request in one of his letters, that his friends would send him out to Barbados "the parts *autumnalis* and *hyemalis* of his Breviary." (p. 365.) We should be curious to know how the recital of this office is performed by those who reject prayers to saints, especially to modern ones.

also to have been an object of his admiration. "It has lately come into my head," he writes, "that the present state of things in England makes an opening for reviving the monastic system. I think of putting the view forward under the title of *Project for reviving Religion in great Towns.* Certainly colleges of unmarried priests (who might, of course, retire to a living, when they could and liked,) would be the cheapest possible way of providing effectively for the wants of a large population.... I must go about the country, to look for the stray sheep of the true fold: there are many about, I am sure; only that odious Protestantism sticks in people's gizzards." (p. 323.) Would that these sentiments had been expressed by a Catholic, in whose mouth they would have had more consistency and promise! If an Anglican thinks that England is ripe for the diffusion of the monastic institute, and believes it to be the most efficacious means for reviving religion, how much more may we be allowed to think the same, with whom that mode of life is not an experiment, but a well-tried and already organized system. But, in the latter part of his scheme, we see nothing but what has a thousand times crossed our minds, and been a subject of our earnest desires and meditations. A central college, or community of priests (the distinctive of *unmarried* is unnecessary with us), bound together no longer than health, inclination, or other circumstances, permitted them; living together under a mild but steady rule; who should extend their labours over the whole country; appears to us the most effectual means for diffusing our holy religion where it is not yet well known, and animating it to greater fervour where it is professed. The institute which best embraces all our ideas upon this matter, is the *Oratorio* of St. Philip Neri, which both in Italy and in France has produced so many men eminent for zeal, learning, and apostolic spirit. In this institute, secular clergy live together without any bond besides that of voluntary aggregation, and devote themselves to the various duties of preaching and instructing at home and abroad. It seems to possess all the advantages of the admirable institution of St. Vincent of Paul, without those severer restraints, and irrevocable engagements which may deter many from joining it. We speak not only of our individual convictions, but the expressed opinion of many more experienced in the missionary life, and the result of long attention to results attained, when we say that a body of clergy devoted to the task of going from town to town, relieving the overworked local clergy of part of their labours, by giving well-prepared and systematic courses of

instruction, and arousing the slumbering energies of congregations, in which stronger excitement is required than the voice of ordinary admonition. By this means, we have no doubt that many stray sheep would be brought back to the true fold, and "that odious Protestantism," which "sticks in people's gizzards," be thence salubriously extracted. In France, the saintly American Bishop Flaget has been visiting several dioceses to preach in favour of the *Œuvre de la Propagation*: and, though his tour has been limited, we have it on authority that it will have had the effect of raising the funds of that beautiful institution from seven hundred thousand to upwards of a million of francs. We have also reason to know that he is bent upon having such a system as we have suggested, of moveable missionaries established in America, as the only means of propagating the Catholic religion on a great scale. In fact, it is the true *Apostolic* method, first taught by our Lord, when he sent his seventy-two before his face, during his own life-time, and afterwards deputed the twelve to the nations of earth: and subsequently practised by all those who, imitating their example, and copying their virtues, have gone forth to preach the Gospel to those that sit in darkness. It was the plan pursued in our regard, not only to rescue our Saxon fathers from paganism, but, what is still more in point, for undeceiving the earlier Christians as to the errors of Pelagianism. Difficulties, some suggested by timidity, others by prudence, may, we are aware, be raised against this proposal. Some will fear fanaticism, or excessive zeal; but this will be easily prevented by wholesome regulation, authoritative control, and, still more, by a system of training and preparation, that shall act on the feelings and mind, as well as on the outward forms to be observed. Others will say, where are the instruments, and the means, for such an undertaking? the individuals who will dedicate themselves to the laborious, self-denying duties it will impose, and the funds requisite for conducting it? We answer, let but the word be given, by the authority under whose guidance it must be ever carried on,—let an accordant plan be concerted, giving to all the benefit of such an institution,—and we will engage that no difficulties will be incurred on any of these grounds. There is abundance of zeal and activity in the Catholic body, and especially among its clergy, to insure success to any plan, based upon experience and approved methods, for propagating truth, and combating error. While the Anglicans would hav everything to prepare, and even to design, before they could set on foot such a system as Mr. Froude proposes, we *have*

much already in train, and should require but little for immediate execution. It would even appear that the Mendicant orders were the favourite scheme of Mr. Froude and his friends.* We defy Protestantism to institute or support them.

We come now to the great doctrine of the *Tracts for the Times*,—ecclesiastical authority, both in matters of jurisdiction and of teaching; and it will be easy to show how evidently dissatisfied Mr. Froude was with the principles and arguments of his party,—of the inconsistency of staying where they were,—and of the logical extension which their arguments would naturally receive. In 1834, he thus writes to his friend Mr. Newman :—

"Does not the Archbishop of Canterbury claim patriarchal authority (*qualem qualem*) over as large a portion of the globe as ever the Bishop of Rome did? and are not the colonial bishops just as much exonerated from their oath of canonical obedience, by proving that there is no universal bishop recognised in Scripture, as ever Cranmer was?"—p. 339, 340.

This is certainly a just argument, retorted upon his friends. The Archbishop of Canterbury considers himself the primate of the East and West Indian Churches, as well as those of our North American colonies. The arguments whereby the Reformers justified their separation from Rome, would as well disprove this assumed superiority. Our next quotation must be a long one: it is from a letter to Mr. Keble, written in 1835, just a year after the former, and objects to the reasoning of the Tracts respecting the Anglican claims to authority in their Church. It will require no commentary from us.

"And first, I shall attack you for the expression, 'the Church teaches so and so,' which I observe is in the Tract equivalent to 'the Prayer-Book, &c., teaches us so and so.' Now suppose a conscientious layman to inquire on what grounds the Prayer-Book, &c., are called the teaching of the Church, how shall we answer him? Shall we tell him that they are embodied in an act of parliament? So is the Spoliation Bill. Shall we tell him that they were formerly enacted by convocation in the reign of Charles II? But what especial claim had this convocation, &c., to monopolise the name and authority of the Church? Shall we tell him that all the clergy assented to them ever since their enactment? But to what interpretation of them have all, or even the major part, of the clergy assented? For if it is the assent of the clergy that makes the Prayer-

* "Your old project about the Mendicant Orders was the sort of thing; though, perhaps, something connected with later times would tell more, just at present." (p. 397.) See also, on celibacy and religious orders, the same page (another letter), and p. 408.

Book, &c. the teaching of the Church, the Church teaches only that interpretation of them to which all, or at least the majority of the clergy, have assented; and, in order to ascertain this, it will be necessary to inquire, not for what may seem to the inquirer to be their real meaning, but for the meaning which the majority of the clergy have, in fact, attached to them. It will be necessary to poll the Hoadleians, Puritans, and Laudians, and to be determined by most votes. Again, supposing him to have ascertained these, another question occurs: why is the opinion of the English clergy, since the enactment of the Prayer-Book, entitled to be called the teaching of the Church, more than that of the clergy of the sixteen previous centuries? or, again, than the clergy of France, Italy, Spain, Russia, &c. &c.? I can see no other [*sic*] claim which the Prayer-Book has on a layman's deference, as the teaching of the Church, which the Breviary and Missal have not in a far greater degree. I know you will snub me for this, and put in lots of *ἐνστάσεις*, some of which I could anticipate and answer; but it would take too much room, and I dare say you can augur the answers as well as I can the objections.

"Next, the Tracts tell a great deal about the clergy 'teaching authoritatively.' Do you think that, on any fair principles of interpretation, the texts which claim authority for the teaching of inspired persons, and those in immediate communication with them, can be applied to the teaching of those who have no access to any source of information which is not equally open to all mankind? Surely, no teaching now-a-days is authoritative in the sense in which the Apostles' was, except that of the Bible; nor any in the sense in which Timothy's was, except that of primitive tradition. To find a sense in which the teaching of the modern clergy is authoritative, I confess baffles me. Do you mean, that if his lordship of —— taught one way, and Pascal or Robert Nelson another, the former would be entitled to most consideration? or do you give the preference to ordained persons, *cæteris paribus*? The former assertion would be startling; the latter does not come to much."—pp. 401-3.

"And now I will have another go at you, about your rule of faith in *fundamentals*. This is a supposed dialogue between you and the A.

"*Romanist*. I maintain that the doctrine of the Eucharist is a fundamental.—*You*. I deny it.—*R*. Why?—*You*. Because it cannot be proved from Scripture.—*R*. Supposing it granted, do you think that no doctrine is fundamental, which cannot be proved from Scripture?—*You*. Yes.—*R*. Supposing I can show that the early Christians (say of the second and third centuries) regarded the doctrine of the Eucharist as fundamental, should you still say that it was not so, because it cannot be proved from Scripture?—*You*. No; in that case I should admit that it was fundamental; but you cannot show it.—*R*. Then you admit your real reason for denying that this doctrine is fundamental, is not that it is not proved from Scripture, but that it was not held such by the early Christians.—

You. My reason for denying that it is fundamental, is, that it is not proved from Scripture.—*R.* But, in spite of this reason, you would think it fundamental, if the Fathers thought so; that is, you admit your own reason to be inconclusive: that, even after you had shown that it cannot be proved from Scripture, you would also have to show that the Fathers did not think it fundamental.—*You.* I admit this; but still adhere to my original proposition.—*R.* You have admitted that it is not enough to show that a doctrine *cannot* be proved from Scripture, in order to prove it *not* fundamental. Do you think it enough to show that it *can* be proved from Scripture, in order to prove that it *is* fundamental?—*You.* No; I do not think that.—*R.* Then you have proposed, as a test of fundamentality, one which, being answered, does not prove doctrines fundamental; and not answered, does not prove them not so.

"I will not write any more about this, as I suspect you will skip." —pp. 417-18.

A few days later, he reverts to the subject, in writing to the same friend; for he asks (July 30):—"What does the article mean by 'doctrines necessary to salvation'? No doctrine is necessary to salvation, to those who have not rejected it wilfully; and to those that do reject wilfully, every true doctrine is necessary to salvation." (p. 419.) Two months after this, he returns to his former controversy, and evidently shows his sense of the insufficiency of the grounds on which he and his friends stood regarding authority; for, Sept. 3, he writes thus:—

"As to our controversies, you are now taking fresh ground, without owning, as you ought, that on our first basis I dished you. Of course, if the Fathers maintain 'that nothing not deducible from Scripture ought to be insisted on as terms of communion,' I have nothing more to say. But again, if you allow tradition an interpretative authority, I cannot see what is gained. For surely the doctrines of the priesthood and the Eucharist may be proved from Scripture, interpreted by tradition; and if so, what is to hinder our insisting on them as terms of communion? I don't mean, of course, that this will bear out the Romanists, which is, perhaps, your only point; but it certainly would bear out our *party* in excommunicating Protestants."—p. 419-20.

It is evident that his mind was busily engaged with this most important topic; and that every day showed him more and more the perplexity of the views taken by his colleagues, and the necessity of coming to a clearer understanding than they had of the extent of their principles, which, pushed one step farther, would be driven into Catholicity. A letter written to another correspondent, in November following, is evidence of this.

"*Nov.* 27.....I have been over and over again N[ewman]'s arguments from the Fathers, that tradition, in order to be authoritative, must be in form interpretative, and can get no farther than that it is a convenient reason for [the Church's] tolerating the (I forget which) article. No reason why the Apostles should have confined their oral teaching to comments on Scripture, seems apparent; and why their oral teaching should have been more likely to be corrupted, *semper, ubique, et ab omnibus.*"—p. 423.

His mortal course was now, however, drawing to a close; but the last fragment published of his, attests how anxiously, how candidly, and how powerfully, his mind was at work with this great subject,—the hinge on which the differences between us and these new divines may be justly said to turn. This piece is a letter, dated Jan. 27, 1836, a month before his death; and as his last illness was of some weeks' duration, this document may be considered his theological testimonial, the last declaration of his yet unbroken mind. It will clearly prove how far he had advanced beyond his fellows, towards the boundary line of Catholic truth. In order the better to understand it, we must recal to our readers' attention our former article in No. X, on the *Tracts for the Times*, in which we examined the very passages alluded to in the following extract, which had not then come under our observation. We there cited the very example, as Mr. Froude does, of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, in proof that the patriarchal rights of Churches, even though unjustly acquired, were in course of time respected, and held inviolable. (p. 293.) We also proved the canon of Ephesus, there quoted in defence of the independence of the Anglican Church, to speak only of *new* assumptions of jurisdiction by one bishop or patriarch, over sees in which no right had previously been admitted. (p. 295.) The same view we find one of their own most zealous partizans and contributors to have spontaneously taken;—nay, we see him, in the concluding passage of his writings, using severer language to his friend Mr. Newman than we presumed to employ. The following are his words:—

"The other day accidentally put in my way the Tract on *the Apostolical Succession in the English Church;* and it really does seem so very unfair, that I wonder you could, even in the extremity of οἰκονομία and φενακισμὸς, have consented to be a party to it. The Patriarchate of Constantinople, as every one knows, was not one 'from the first;' but neighbouring churches voluntarily submitted to it in the first instance, and then, by virtue of their oaths, remained its ecclesiastical subjects; and the same argument by which you justify England and Ireland, would justify all those churches in setting up any day for themselves. The obvious meaning of the canon

[of Ephesus] is, that patriarchs might not *begin* to exercise authority in churches *hitherto* independent, without their consent."—pp. 425-6.

After this, what more can we desire in proof of what we asserted at the beginning of this article, that these *Remains* prove Mr. Froude's mind to have been gradually discovering more extensive and more accurate views of religious truths and the principles of faith, with such steady and constant growth, as gives us every reason to believe that longer life alone was wanting to see him take the salutary resolve, to embrace the conclusions of his theories to their fullest legitimate extent? While the writings of the new divines seem to represent their theories as perfectly formed, and their views quite fixed, the extracts we have just made show them to be but the shifting and unsettled opinions of men who are yet discovering errors in what they have formerly believed, and seeking farther evidence of what they shall from henceforth hold. Our concluding extract shall give fuller evidence of this fact: it is a letter to Mr. Newman, dated All Saints' Day, 1835.

"Before I finish this, I must enter another protest against your cursing and swearing at the end of —— [against the Romanists], as you do. What good can it do?—and I call it uncharitable to an excess. *How mistaken we may ourselves be on many points that are only gradually opening on us!* Surely you should reserve 'blasphemous,' 'impious,' &c., for denial of the articles of faith."—p. 422.

With this passage we close Mr. Froude's *Remains*. Peace be to him! is our parting salutation. The hope which an Ambrose expressed for a Valentinian, who died yet a Catechumen, we willingly will hold of him. His ardent desires were with the truth; his heart was not a stranger to its love. He was one, we firmly believe, whom no sordid views, or fear of men's tongues, would have deterred from avowing his full convictions, and embracing their consequences, had time and opportunity been vouchsafed him for a longer and closer search. He is another instance of that same mysterious Providence, which guided a Grotius and a Leibnitz to the threshold of truth, but allowed them not the time to step within it, into the hallowed precincts of God's visible Church.*

* We are authorized to correct an error, arising from some misapprehension, which occurs in p. 307. It is in an account of a conference between the author, accompanied by a friend, and the head of a college in Rome. The latter is made to say, that "the doctrine of the mass" was not fixed, but remained indeterminate, till settled at the Council of Trent. This statement is inaccurate, though, no doubt, unintentionally so. The gentleman alluded to never made any such admission, in the sense which it appears to bear in the narrative.

ART. VI.—*Kynge Johan; A Play, in Two Parts.* By John Bale. Edited by J. Payne Collier, Esq., F.S.A. From the MS. of the Author, in the Library of His Grace the Duke of Devonshire. London: Printed for the Camden Society, by John Bowyer Nichols & Son. MDCCCXXXVIII.

FOR the discovery and publication of the dramatic work whose title heads our paper, we are indebted to that useful body, the Camden Society. The MS., which is, for the most part, in the handwriting of Bale himself, was totally unknown till within the last year or two, when it was, for the first time, brought to light among some old papers, once belonging to the corporation of Ipswich. Its earliest date—for it was evidently written at different periods—is conjectured to have been about the commencement of the reign of Edward VI; the conclusion, and the latest in order of composition, was not written till after the accession of queen Elizabeth. In several respects, it is a curious performance. We know of no historical play from an English pen, of greater, or coeval antiquity. By many years, it preceded the historical plays of Shakspere, the author's contemporary; to whom, indeed, it may have first suggested the dramatic importance of his country's * chronicles. *Kynge Johan*, too, first presents that disregard of the unities of time and place, which soon became general among subsequent dramatic writers, and which still characterizes the modern drama. The stage-scene is now laid in the papal court—now in London. In the beginning of the poem, we are present at the laying on of the interdict—and again, towards the end, we witness its removal, after an interval of seven years. The division, moreover, of the play into two parts, for convenience of representation,—which the method and clearness of Shakspere's mind afterwards made so famous,—is noticeable in this instance, as the first example of the kind. But lastly, and above all, we have here a most singular portraiture of the new opinions and principles which the Reformation introduced, in the room of the old piety and chivalry it took away; the poem being, altogether, a polemical one; and, as the editor remarks, designed† "to promote and confirm the Reformation, of which, after his conversion, Bale was one of the most strenuous and *unscrupulous* supporters;" not to mention, that he was also "a bishop" under

* There is extant, however, another play of the same name, by an unknown author; of later date than Bale's, but earlier than Shakspere's tragedy.

† Introduction, p. vii.

Edward VI, a fugitive under Mary, and "a prebendary of Canterbury" after the accession of Elizabeth.*

"This design he executed in a manner until then unknown."† Before him, the drama of this country had bounded itself to the domain of sacred subjects: the "mysteries" and "moralities" of our fathers were altogether founded on the pages of Scripture, or the Golden Legend. Neither was there matter for the introduction of polemical controversy. The entire accord that prevailed in the interpretation of Holy Writ, and the reception of religious truths, had produced an almost monotonous unity of thought and language in their contributions to the drama. When, therefore, the new bishop of Ossory resolved on turning it against the Church, he found himself obliged to depart wholly from the ancient course, and trace out to himself a new path towards the end in view. "For this purpose,‡ instead of founding himself upon some portion of the *Old* or *New Testament*," doubtless, because none could be had, "he resorted to the *Chronicles*, and thus endeavoured to give attractive novelty to his undertaking." And truly, the execution is amusing, as the undertaking was "novel!" We can fancy the rapturous astonishment with which the world, in Bale's days, must have hailed this new light reflected upon history. Our readers will partake of that astonishment, when they learn that the object aimed at by these two plays, is the entire vindication of "Kynge Johan" from the cruel aspersions of all his historians, and his elevation among his fellows as a "reformer," and a "marter." Canonized thus by a reformed bishop, and prebendary to boot, our farther wonder should be,—how he has missed a place in the calendar, at the beginning of the *Book of Common Prayer*, along with the other royal "marter," king Charles I?—how it comes to pass, that in Worcester minster, the 19th October lies buried, and not, like the 30th January, remembered in red-letter honours and homilies before parliament? Farthermore, it is worthy of notice in this place, that Bale does, over and over again, expressly identify this "ryghteous kynge" with king Henry VIII, and also with queen Elizabeth, making no distinction between his three worthies, as to goodness, piety, or, in short, anything but the degree of success attend-

* With our experience of Irish Protestant prelates, and beneficed clergymen, at Brighton, Cheltenham, and other places of fashionable resort, in England, we cannot confess the goodness of the editor's logic. "He never returned to his see, in Ireland; *and probably, therefore, derived no revenue from it.*"—*Ibid.*

† Introduction, p. viii. ‡ Ibid. p x..

ant on their common enterprise; so that he lauds them all,—"Johan," as "Moyses," and as "David;" "king Henrye," as "duke Josue;" and "Elizabeth," as the "Angell," sealing the elect with the seal of the Lord. After this, let no man condemn those who agree with this Protestant father, that the perjured bloodstained Lackland, betrayer of innocence and murderer of his nephew as he was, is, nevertheless, not undeserving of a niche in history, between "bluff king Hal," and the "maiden queen," his daughter, "good queen Bess." This is, in fact, the chief aim, the *geste* of the two poems before us: the "design," which, for perversion and suppression of fact, and for intrepidity of assertion, may indeed be said to have been "executed in a manner till then unknown;" although, since, become tolerably common and notorious, not only to readers of dramatic, and other works professedly "of fiction," but also to such as are pretty conversant with another numerous class of productions, even more ingenious, and more deserving of that title, than of the less aspiring name of "history," under whose unpretending cloak they modestly seek concealment. Bale may, in this view, be justly regarded as the father of modern history,—the Herodotus of Protestant England. Under which venerable title, let us for awhile leave him to repose, while we attempt, for our readers' amusement, a rapid analysis of his play of *Kynge Johan.*

The play opens with a speech of the king in person, introducing himself by name, lineage, and office, and professing his intention,—

> "By practyse and by stodye,
> To reforme the lawes and sett men in good order,
> That trew justyce may be had in every border."—p. 2.

Hereupon, "Ynglond *vidua*" accosts him with a long complaint against the "clargy," and prays him to do her justice. We observe nothing remarkable in the accusations preferred, beyond their exact conformity to the every-day amenities of the *Times*, *Herald*, and *Standard.* In the midst of this, "Sedycyon," or Stephen Langton, enters, and, hearing what is going on, keeps up a running banter, by way of bass accompaniment, much to the annoyance of Johan and Ynglond. On the departure of the latter, a long expostulation ensues betwen Sedycyon and Johan, by which it is made to appear, that the former is an emissary of Rome, against all states; and that Catholicity is quite incompatible with loyalty and good order.

"*K. J.* But what doeste thow here in England, tell me shortlye?
S. I hold upp the pope, as in other places many,
For his ambassador I am contynwally,
In Sycell, in Naples, in Venys and Ytalye,
In Pole, Spruse, and Berne, in Denmarke and Lumbardye,
In Aragon, in Spayne, in Fraunce and in Germanye,
In Ynglond, in Scotlond, and in other regyons elles;
For his holy cawse I mayntayne traytors and rebelles,
That no prince can have his peples obedyence,
Except yt doth stond with the pope's prehemynence."—p. 9.

There is nothing new under the sun. We had thought, that the unnatural league between papists, dissenters, republicans and infidels, of which the papers every morning tell us so much, was an invention due to the originality of the age;—we own ourselves mistaken. We ought to have known, that the stern discipline of Catholic morality must needs be found too hard at all times for flesh and blood, by the rulers who grasp at arbitrary power, and the slaves who fawn on their irresponsibility. Of that spirit, new to the sense of Anglo-Saxon sturdiness, we shall witness more examples, as we proceed with our extracts.

Sedycyon having gone away on the approach of "Nobelyte," another long insipid conversation upon Church matters, takes place between the latter and king John, in which "the clargy," and subsequently, "Syvyll Order," who soon after enter, also take a part. "Nobelyte," a well-meaning wavering personage, at first inclined strongly to the Church, falls, by degrees towards the royal arguments:—

"For undowtted God doth open soche thyngs to prynces
As to none other men in the Crysten provynces,
And therfor we wyll not in this with yowr grace contend."—p. 20.

Syvyll Order, a prudent person of foresight, upon this, also assents to the king's wishes; and, finally, "the clargy," moved by their example, agrees to submit itself to John, "bothe body and goods." The king having thereupon granted them his "gracyous pardon" for their previous enmity to God's word, proceeds to bind them to his spiritual obedience by oath, and to define their respective duties in that regard. He and Syvyll Order then "go out," leaving Clargy and Nobelyte together. A discussion arises between these two, on the subject of what has just taken place, Clargy intimating its resolution not to obey John, and Nobelyte censuring Clargy on that account. Here Bale takes occasion to provide himself against the counter testimony of perverse and stubborn facts,

by putting into Nobelyte's mouth, a complaint of Clargy's presumption in daring to write history:—

> "You pristes are the cawse that chronycles doth defame
> So many prynces, and mèn of notable name,
> • *For yow take upon yow to wryght them evermore.*"—p. 23.

Clargy, however, at last prevails over Nobelyte, who exclaims,—

> "Well, I can no more say; ye are to well lernyd for me."

In the next scene (so to call it), which is laid in Rome, Sedycyon soliloquizes until the entrance of "Dyssymulacyon, syngyng of the litany" in such tone and key, that the former irreverently declares with an oath,—

> "I trow her cummeth sum hoggherd
> Callyng for his pygges. Such a noyse I never herd."—p. 25

A long and ribald* interview between these worthies follows, in which the new-comer, who is represented to be a monk, is made to expound to Sedycyon's edification, and that of the audience, the supposed impostures of his brethren. The subject turning on the temporalities of monastic order, (an interesting topic for the writer and patrons of the play), Dyssymulacyon points out the value to their cause, of the "pryvat wealth" of their monasteries, by whose means he proposes to bring in the pope, or "Usurpid Power," from Rome, to overrule the state. Sedycyon assenting, these two new allies make their entry on the scene. To make, however, more clear, the supposed relation that subsists in gradual ascent from hypocrisy to monastic possessions, thence to papal supremacy, and thence, finally, rising to civil discord—the crown of all—which is done with a view, of course, to the vindication of the Protestant Reformers, and their atrocities,—a highly ludicrous scene is here introduced, at the instance of Sedycyon:—

> "*S.* Nay, Usurpid Power, thee must go back ageyne,
> For I must also put thee to a lytyll payne.
> *U. P.* Why, fellaue Sedycyon, what wylt thee have me do?
> *S.* To bare me on thi backe and bryng me in also,
> That yt may be sayde that fyrst Dyssymulacyon
> Browght in Privat Welth to every Cristen nacion;
> And that Privat Welth browght in Usurpid Power,
> And he Sedycyon in cytye, towne, and tower,
> *That sum man may know the feche of all owr sorte.*—p 31.

* We use this word advisedly. More than once we have been compelled to shorten our quotations from different parts of the poem, by reason of the licentious language of this Reformed prelate!

This is accordingly done. Afterwards, Dyssymulacyon delivers to Usurpid Power the letter from the English bishops, demanding aid against Kynge Johan. A long and dull discussion ensues, in which, however, we notice the following mention of the beloved sister isle, and her tenacious orthodoxy, since become so proverbial. It is curious to observe, at how early a period of the Reformation, the Irish were designated, by their English foes, as "aliens in religion,"—men who were "to be converted to Protestantism, or severed from England, to be afterwards reconquered by the sword!!"

"*D.* * * *His suggesteon was to subdew the Yrysh men.*
P. W. Yea, that same peple doth ease the Church, now and then.
For that enterpryse they wold be lokyd uppon.
U. P. They gett no mony, but they shall have clene remyssion,
For those Yrysh men are ever good to the Church:
Whan kynges dysobeye yt, than they begynne to worch.
P. W. And all that they do ys for indulgence and pardon."—p. 37.

At the close of this conference the pope curses the king "with boke, bell, and candle." Then follows a speech, of five stanzas, from "the Interpretour," wherein the intent of the play is elaborately explained to the audience. We cannot afford space for more than an extract.

"In thys present acte we have to you declared,
As in a myrrour, the begynnynge of kynge Johan;
How he was of God a magistrate appoynted
To the governaunce of thys same noble regyon,
To see mayntayned the true faythe and relygyon;
But Satan, the Devyll, which that tyme was at large,
Had so great a swaye that he coulde it not discharge

Upon a good zele he attempted very farre
For welthe of thys realme to provyde reformacyon
In the Church therof, but they ded hym debarre
Of that good purpose; for by excommunycacyon
The space of vij yeares they interdyct thy nacyon.
These bloudsuppers thus of crueltie and spyght
Subdued thys good kynge for executynge ryght.

* * * * * * * * *

This noble kynge Johan, as a faithful Moyses,
Withstode proude Pharao for hys poore Israel.
Myndynge to brynge yt owt of the lande of darknesse;
But the Egyptyanes did agaynst hym so rebell,
That hys poore people ded styll in the desart dwell,
Tyll that duke Josue, whych was our late kynge Henrye,
Clerely brought us in to the lande of mylke and honye.
Pages 42-43.

At the end of this speech we read "Finit Actus Primus," and, by the allusions of the Interpretour to the "second acte," it would seem that the first part of "Kynge Johan" consisted of two acts only. The loss of the conclusion of the first part leaves us no means of ascertaining the truth of this conjecture.

The first act being ended, the pope retires, and the scene shifts to England, where we witness the successful tampering of Sedycyon, or Langton, with the allegiance of "Nobelyte," "Clargy," and "Syvyll Order." To give additional flavour to the entertainment, the author treats us to a view and hearing of the confessional, where "Nobelyte" appears as penitent, and "Sedycyon" as confessor. This blasphemous parody, independently of its indecency, is so absurdly incorrect, even as a parody, that we very much doubt whether Bale was ever at confession in his life! Indeed, his "conversion" to the Protestant faith most probably amounted to that of Bernadotte, thus very equivocally announced by himself: "M. l'Archévêque, *je n'ai jamais douté*, moi, de la vérité de votre réligion!"

In the next scene,* "Privat Welth, cum in like a cardinall," demands of the king, in the name of Innocent III, redress of the Church's wrongs, with ample restitution, and the admittance of cardinal Langton into his see and primacy; which the king peremptorily refuses, and also takes occasion to read the "cardinall" a most moving homily, full of Scripture texts and Christian unction, on his duties in general. In return for this charity, "Privat Welth" has the barbarity to "cursse" him, "with crosse, bocke, bell, and candell;" and even to "assoyle" his people from his obedience, charging them to fight against him "as a tyrant." The "good" king hereon meekly rejoins—

> "Gett the hence, or elles we shall teche the to blaspheme."

Then, falling into a sweetly moralizing mood, he soliloquizes, as a saint should do whose ears have been so grieved by the tongues of the ungodly:

> "Oh, Lord, how wycked ys that same generacyon
> That never wyll cum to a godly reformacyon;
> The prystes report me to be a wyckyd tyrant
> Be cause I correct ther actes and lyfe unpleasant," &c.

After consoling himself with Scripture authority for his arbitrary power over the clergy, he concludes—

* We use this word for convenience, although there is, in fact, no division of scenes observed throughout the play.

> "But I shall make them smart,
> Yf that Nobelyte and Law wyll take my part."—p. 54-5.

Unluckily, however, they "wyll" not "take his part." He attacks them collectively without effect, and equally fails in a private attempt to withdraw "Nobelyte" from their league, as the latter will have nothing to do with one "accursyd." At every rebuff the king's piety waxes more and more fervent, and his appeals to Heaven frequent. "Nobelyte" pleads his "othe" to the Church, "Clargy" his "professyon to the ryghtes ecclesiasticall," and "Syvyll Order" that he is "hyr feed man." There remains only the "Commynalte," and of him he would "fayne knowe the mynde,"

> "Whether he wyll go with them or abyde with me?"

To his great discomfiture, he finds that, although he "cowd be contented with all his hart" to go with the king, yet having two "impedymentes;" the first, "blyndnes," arising "for want of knowlage in Christe's lyvely verite," and the second, "poverte," he, "Commynalte," had rather not go with him. The unanimous league of all classes against the execrable John, having been thus ingeniously explained away by his hagiographist, Bale, Pandulphus comes to crown the cup of misery, by communicating to the king the news of the armaments that have taken the field against him, and the imminent danger in which he stands. "Johan" is at first incredulous, but being most disconsolately convinced at last, falls into complete despair; whereupon Pandulphus asks him,

> "How saye ye, kyng Johan, can ye fynd now in yowr hart
> To obaye holy Chyrch, and give ower yowr froward part?"

"Johan" craves time to deliberate with his "Nobylyte;" which being, with some hesitation, granted him, he retires for awhile, leaving the legate and his party to enjoy their triumph till his return. After a short conference he again appears, and signifies that having mercifully considered the horrors attendant on war, he is compelled "to resigne up here both crowne and regall poure;" and accordingly, at once delivers the emblems of authority into the "cardynall's" hands, submitting himself, at the same time, in all respects whatever, "to his mercyfull ordynance." In short, a change altogether marvellous is remarked in the language, actions, and whole demeanour of this "godly and valiant" prince.

Here, unfortunately, the blank occurs in the manuscript, by which we lose the conclusion of the first part of "Kynge Johan," as well as the beginning of the second part. When

we resume the thread of the story, we find ourselves present at a discussion, in the second part, between the king and the legates, relative to some preliminary difficulties in the way of the taking off the interdict. The king's submission, however, appeases Pandulphus, though much to "Ynglond's" discomfort, and the legate releases him of the "interdictyon," and gives orders to "Johan" to "open the churche dores" with *Te Deum* and other observances. "Johan" retires to see it done, leaving Pandulphus and his party to enjoy their mirth at his expense. "Dissymulacyon," of whose absence they "mervele greatly," now enters, and on being asked where he has been, replies—

> "*D.* In the gardene, man, the herbes and wedes amonge;
> And there have I gote the poyson of toade.
> I hope in a whyle to wurke some feate abroade."

"Sedycyon" pathetically complains of his unkindness in withholding his confidence from him in this matter:

> "*D.* I wyll tell the all, undreneth * Benedicite,
> What I mynde to do, in case thee wylte assoyle me.
> *S.* Thee shalt be assoyled by the most holy fathers auctoryte.
> *D.* Shall I so in dede? by the masse, than now have at the.
> Benedicite.
> *S.* In nomine Papæ, Amen.
> *D.* Sir, thys is my mynde. I wyll gyve kynge Johan thys poyson,
> So makynge hym sure that he shall never have foyson.
> * * * * * * * * *
> *S.* I am sure, than, thee wylt geve it hym in a drynke.
> *D.* Marry, that I wyll, and the one half with him swynke,
> To encourage hym to drynke the botome off.
> *S.* If thee drynke the halfe, thee shalt fynde it no scoff:
> Of terryble deathe thee wylt stacker in the plashes.
> *D.* Tush, though I dye, man, there wyll ryse more of my ashes.
> I am sure the monkes wyll praye for me so bytterlye,
> That I shall not come in Helle nor in Purgatorye.
> In the pope's kychyne the scullyons shall not brawle,
> Nor fyght for my grese. If the priestes woulde for me yawle,
> And grunt a good pace placebo with requiem masse,
> Without muche tarryaunce I shulde to Paradyse passe,
> Where I myght be sure to make good cheare and be myrye,
> For I can not awaye with that whoreson purgatorye.
> *S.* To kepe the from thens thee shalt have five monkes syngynge
> In Swynsett abbeye, so longe as the worlde is durynge:
> They wyll daylye praye for the sowle of father Symon,
> A Cisteane monke whych poysened kyng John.

* Under confession.

D. Whan the worlde is done, what helpe shall I have than ?
S. Than shyft for thy self so well as ever thee can.
D. Cocke's sowle, he cometh here. Assoyle me that I were gone then.
S. Ego absolvo te in nomine papæ, Amen."—pp. 77-78.

This very edifying version of the fabulous poisoning of king John by a monk of Swynstead Abbey, is here introduced to answer a double purpose. In the first place, it gives the crowning act of martyrdom to the already lofty pile of merits that distinguish this saintly monarch—this Protestant before Luther, if Bale be credited. In the next place, it was the policy of the rulers of the Reformation in England, while they maintained it by the strong arm of law, to endeavour to enlist public opinion and prejudice in favour of the penal statutes they enacted, and the rapacities of their practice. There were then no newspapers in the land: the popular ballads and dramas were then "the best public instructors;" and, as long as that state of things existed, they became, in the hands of the Bales of that day, the public organs of the same veracious and Christian spirit, which now circulates, in another form, but in a similar view, through the printing presses of the *Times* and *Standard*, and other "leading journals." But to return to our tragedy.

While "kynge Johan," who enters at the conclusion of the foregoing scene, is engaged in a very pious conversation with "Ynglonde," in the course of which, we are told, he "*flectit genua*," "Dyssymulacyon" returns, habited as "father Symon of Swynsett Abbey," and bearing the wassayle bowl, all properly poisoned. He is heard without, singing a wassail song, which, even if written by Bale himself, is probably the oldest in our language. But we cannot discover any resemblance between Bale's cumbrous, unpolished style, and that of this lively and melodious little composition; and we prefer to think it the traditionary production of another age, as it evidently is of another pen :

"*D.* Wassayle, wassayle, out of the mylke payle,
Wassayle, wassayle, as whyte as my nayle,
Wassayle, wassayle, in snowe, froste, and hayle,
Wassayle, wassayle, with partriche and rayle,
Wassayle, wassayle, that muche doth avayle,
Wassayle, wassayle, that never wyll fayle."—p. 80.

The false Simon accosts the king with such flattery of his

"very angelyck face," that the former expresses himself quite charmed with such "a lovynge person." Simon then produces the "marvelouse good pocyone."

"*D.* The dayes of your lyfe never felte ye suche a cuppe,
So good and so holsome, if ye woulde drynke it upp:
It passeth malmesaye, capryck, tyre, or ypocras;
By my faythe, I thynke a better drynke never was.
K. J. Begynne, gentle monke: I pray the drynke half to me.
D. If ye dronke all up, it were the better for ye."

Doubtless! But the king is not to be overcome in kindness, though many words of good father Simon follow. He insists on it, that the holy man shall "drynke half."

"*D.* Good lucke to ye than! have at it by and bye:
Halfe wyll I consume, if there be no remedye.
K. J. God saynt the, good monke, with all my very harte.
D. I have brought ye half; conveye me that for your parte.
Whert art thee, Sedycyon? by the masse, I dye, I dye.
Helpe now at a pynche! Alas, man, cum awaye shortly."

So *exit* father Simon, comforting himself with the reflection;

"I do not doubte it but that I shall be a saynt."

They are hardly gone from the king, before he too discovers something not quite right.

"*K. J.* My bodye me vexeth: I doubte much of a tympanye.
England. Now, alas, alas! your grace is betrayed cowardlye."

An explanation ensues, whereby the king is made sensible that he has not long to live; but derives much comfort from the remembrance that he was wont "to helpe suche as were nedye," albeit by priests "counted a wycked man," because he "never bulte churche or monasterye." Ynglond or England ratifies his consolation in that regard by a homily against "voluntarye wurkes," which is interrupted by the king's increasing pains.

"*K. J.* Doubtlesse I do fele much grevaunce in my bodye."

He dies with a most edifying speech upon the "malyce of the clergye," who "last of all have him intoxycate,"—and upon his own justice and forgiving mood!

"*I have sore hungred and thirsted ryghteousnesse*
For the offyce sake that God hath me appoynted,
But now I perceyve that synne and wyckednesse

In thys wretched worlde, lyke as Christe prophecyed,
Have the overhande: in me it is verefyed.
Farewell, noble men, with the clergye spirytuall;
Farewell, men of lawe, with the whole commynalte.
Your disobedyence I do forgyve yow all,
And desyre God to perdon all your iniquyte.
Farewell, swete Englande, now last of all to the:
I am ryght sorye I coulde do for the no more.
Farewell ones agayne, yea, farewell for evermore."—p. 84.

"*E.* * * O, horryble case, *that ever so noble a kynge*
Shoulde thus be destroyed and lost for ryghteouse doynge,
By a cruell sorte of disguysed bloud-souppers,
Unmercyfull murtherers, all dronke *in the bloude of marters.*
Report what they wyll in their most furyouse madnesse,
Of thys noble kynge muche was the godlynesse."(!)—[*Exeunt.*]

With these last words of England the play is properly ended, but there yet remains a sort of epilogue, in which two new characters, "Veryte" and "Imperyall Majestye" appear, and discuss with Clargy, Nobylyte, and Syvyll Order, the merits of king John, and their own behaviour in his regard. The result, of course, is the exaltation of the deceased monarch, and the deep contrition of these three respectable personages. Thereupon, Imperyall Majestye receives them once more to favour. This apotheosis being ended, Sedycyon, who happens to come that way, is laid hold of by his former friends, in the fervour of their new-born zeal, and, upon his self-accusation, though on the promise of "perdon," if he tell "the trewthe," is committed to Syvyll Order to "hang hym tyll he be dead." The panegyric of Veryte upon king John, which is too long to be quoted here, enumerates, among the proofs of his "godlynesse," the following very pertinent ones. We presume, the last lines refer to the ingenious and facetious manner in which that playful person loved to torment the Hebrews, who had hidden treasures and revealed them not. The story of the toothless must have been before Bale, when he wrote them.

"The cytie of London, through his mere graunt and premye,
Was first privyleged to have *both mayer and shryve,*
Where before hys tyme it had but baylyves onlye. (!)
In hys dayes the brydge *the cytizens* ded contryve. (!)
Though he now be dead, hys noble actes are alyve,
Hys zele is declared, as towchynge Christe's religyon,
In that he exyled the Jewes out of thys regyon."

Prodigious!—surely, never had man greater sanctity than this good prince had!

It would be superfluous, were we to remark upon the character of the religious revolution in men's minds, which could so profoundly alter there the types of vice and virtue. What the teachers must have been, who could select the infamous Lackland from among English kings, and make him—in every way so despicable—the model of every virtue, divine and human; and what the people were likely to become, under the influence of such tutors in spirituals—such masters in morality—we leave our readers to judge! In the meanwhile, we shall content ourselves with two observations. First, we remark here a negative testimony to the truth and justice of the proud claim we are wont to make,—in the name of Catholicity,—to the sole and undivided authorship of the great charter of an Englishman's freedom! Our Protestant brethren of this day may contest it if they will; but those, like Bale, who lived nearer to the sources of their own inspiration,—nay, more,—who were among its founders, were too happy to declare it, for they thought it our dishonour and our reproach.

The second observation we have to offer, is, that the present play, whose existence must have been perfectly familiar to Shakspere, affords another of those remarkable contrasts in which he stands to his contemporaries of the Elizabethan age. It is hardly possible that two plays can be more dissimilar, in view, sentiment, and conclusion, than the "Kynge Johan" of Bale, and the "King John" of Shakspere;—the one presenting us with the supposed model of a Christian king, the other that of an odious tyrant;—the one prostrating all principle, piety, manliness, in one base act of oriental adoration before the throne; the other maintaining,—imperfectly doubtless in some respects, but in general nobly and well,—the true spirit of the ages of faith, in its two principal attributes of faith and loyalty, and their combined result, a Christian independence. Referring to what we have said in an article in a former number, we would ask, was Shakspere such as the Reformation would have made him? or did he derive his inspiration from other sources than those which Bale went forth into the wilderness to seek?

ART. VII.—*Six Months in South Australia, with some Account of Port Philip and Portland Bay, in Australia Felix, with Advice to Emigrants, &c.* by T. Horton James, Esq. J. Cross, Holborn, 1838.

2.—*An Exposure of the absurd, unfounded and contradictory Statements, in James's Six Months in South Australia,* by John Stephens. London, Smith and Elder, 1839.

MOST of our readers, indeed every newspaper reader, must be aware, that South Australia is the name of a considerable section or slice of the remarkable insular continent, originally known as New Holland, but which more modern and better taste has designated by the more classical and more euphonous title of Australia.*

This section of country, which extends from 132° to 141° east longitude, and from 26° to 38° south latitude, and which contains very nearly two hundred millions of acres of surface, was chosen as the theatre of a new experiment in colonization, the object of which was, to "create everything but land, where before land only existed," to transfer to the recipient colony, all the elements of civilization, which the colonizing country was capable of furnishing.

The two books at the head of our article, which are controversial in their character, enable us to judge of the manner in which the experiment has been hitherto conducted. In Mr. James's book will be found a record of every blunder that has been committed, with a very candid statement of many of the prominent advantages which South Australia enjoys as a field of colonization: "Read Mr. James's book," said a South Australian colonist to the writer of this article; "it will give you all that can be said against the colony; and I am sure your candour will cause you to admit, that there is still an immense balance of advantage in favour of South Australia, compared with colonies settled on the old plan, or rather without plan." In Mr. Stephens' reply will be found the defence of a warm partizan, who having determined to make the colony his home, cannot brook any statement which detracts from the notion, that the object of his choice is an Elysium.

The principles,—be not alarmed, reader, at the grave term,

* An attempt was made some years since, to fix the name of Australasia, on all the southern islands, including New Zealand, &c., but it has not been adopted.

we shall not teaze you about "principles," beyond a couple of pages or so,—the principles which South Australia was designed to test, we believe to be, in the main, sound. In all colonies previously established, the abundance of rich land, and the unlimited grants to settlers, had tended to disperse the population, to make all men landholders, and to prevent that union of capital and labour, without which, production cannot be successfully prosecuted. In old countries, to own land is to be wealthy and powerful; hence to be a landowner is the first wish of every settler. The consequence has been, that land being cheap, no man would labour for hire; and the capitalist who went out, instead of being able to command sufficient assistance to render his capital productive, has not unfrequently been compelled to confine his operations to just so much land, and just so much of his capital, as the few pair of hands in his own family could work. It was as if two men should go forth to colonize, one of whom had two spades and the other had none. He of the spare spade, would not lend it to the man who had none, because he had a large garden which he wanted the spadeless man to help to dig; whilst the latter, having also a garden just as large as that of his neighbour, would rather poke up the surface with a stake, and retain the character of a "free and independent landowner," than become the hired servant of him of the spade. The consequence was, the spare spade,—the unemployed capital—rotted, and the sum of production, instead of being the result of the two men working amicably, and in combination, with two good tools, was reduced to the result of their feeble isolated exertions,—the one working with a good tool, and the other with a rude help to labour, which really amounted to no tool at all. The loss to the dual-community, would be, the difference between the productiveness of the spade and the stake, with a farther deduction for the loss of time, by fruitless negotiations between the spade capitalist and the spadeless labourer; and a good lot of ill-will between the said capitalist and labourer to boot. This is really a type of what may be called planless colonization.

The object, then, of a plan of colonization, is, to induce or indirectly force the labourer and capitalist to come to terms; and the question to be solved is, can this be done? Evidently, by fixing such a price* upon the land, as will prevent the labourer from acquiring it, until he shall have laboured for hire

* The plan, in detail, will be found in a work entitled 'England and America.'

for awhile, and shall have saved enough to purchase a lot of land. This, it was anticipated by the originator of the plan on which South Australia was settled, would be productive of farther happy consequences. Not merely would it produce co-operation between capitalists and labourers, but the purchase money would create a fund which could be expended in transferring fresh labour to the colony; and in order to render the expenditure of this fund as productive and efficient as possible, young couples only were to be sent out, by which, efficient labourers, only, would be conveyed to the colony, and the "greatest germ of increase" would be sent out at the smallest cost.* It is only necessary to add, that as regards South Australia, the commissioners were empowered to anticipate the proceeds of land sales, by raising a loan; and they were restrained from active operations until they had raised £35,000 by sales.

So much for principle,† to which we deemed it necessary to advert, for the purpose of keeping in the reader's mind, the end and means of the "British" system of colonization: in what manner the means have been set in motion, we must learn from "the books."

The first expedition sent out to South Australia, was the surveying establishment headed by Colonel Light—an amiable man, by the admission of all; but touching whose judgment, there is very great difference of opinion. Upon Colonel Light devolved two duties: videlicit, to fix upon the site of the town:—colonists—we crave your pardon! the "capital city," and to survey land with as much celerity as possible, so as to keep ahead of the purchasers. How have those duties been performed? As to the first, Mr. James says:—

"The first ship advertised by the commissioners to sail with emigrants, was advertised for Port Lincoln direct, where the capital city was intended to have been established; and it is a thousand pities that the commissioners' instructions, in this matter, were not complied with; because in the absence of any other port in the whole line of coast, which can be considered free from objections, as well as safe and accessible at all seasons of the year, nothing can prevent this harbour from being sooner or later the emporium of the

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* In the convict colonies, there is a sad preponderance of males. Mr. Wakefield, in his evidence before the Colonization Committee of the House of Commons, stated, that he had made a calculation, that had young couples between 18 and 35 been sent out, instead of convicts chiefly male, the population would now have been 500,000 instead of 50,000. Want of selection is bad enough, but selection of the worst kind is shocking to sense and humanity.

† For an exposition of the principles of colonization, see the "Dublin Review," for January 1838, vol. iv p. 67.

new colony. The removal of the seat of government must follow as a matter of course, and then what will become of the city of Adelaide? It will dwindle into a second or third-rate provincial village of the interior, and much capital will have been expended in vain, in clearing and improvements. This is to be regretted exceedingly."—*James*, p. 8.

"Port Adelaide, on the other hand, 'is well enough for small vessels, which, *after they are inside*, are secure from accidents; but in any other respect it is totally unfit for general purposes of commerce, and will never come to anything; as no amount of expenditure could make it available, except for the little trifling domestic trade, in Mangrove ashes, for the future soap-makers of the colony."—p. 10.

All accounts agree, that a finer harbour could not exist than Port Lincoln, whilst Port Adelaide has a bar; and before one can get to the town,—hang it, we are always forgetting ourselves,—the "city" of Adelaide, all sorts of impediments interpose themselves.

"Whilst the man in the chains," says Mr. James, "is crying out 'by the mark three,'—'quarter less three,' the passengers are looking over the sides of the ship, at the bottom, which is seen distinctly; and presently, bump the vessel strikes on the mud and sand. This is the bar of Port Adelaide. The gentlemen whisper each other, that 'the vessel is aground.' . . The captain frowns, but the pilot thinks nothing of it, and walks about calm and unruffled as if he were in his own parlour. . . With the flood tide, however, the ship floats off, and the passengers make the notable discovery, that getting aground is nothing when you're used to it. Presently there is another bar, at Snapper Point, over which the ship gets safely; but the passengers' anxiety to get ashore, is not yet to be gratified; for the careful old gentleman the pilot, determines to bring up for the night. In the morning, the passengers determine to betake themselves to the boat. They do so, and after pulling some distance up the muddy creek, ask if this is Port Adelaide? the answer is 'Yes!' The landing place is however a mile higher up; but disappointment is not at an end, for even the boat sticks fast in the mud, and the passengers are at last glad to wade shoeless and stockingless ashore."—*James*, pp. 24, 28.

At Port Adelaide they are still eight miles from the "City." Here,—

"they enquire, if there is a coach to the town? they are answered by a careless shake of the head: and so like good settlers, they determine to set off and walk, carrying their light parcels with them, and leaving the heavy things with a friend, who refuses to go farther. They ask for a drink of water before starting, there is not such a thing to be had; but the bullock carts are expected down every minute

with the usual supply! 'What, no water!' exclaims our passenger. No, sir; but the commissioners are sinking a well, though they have not yet found any but salt-water; but they are going to dig in another place shortly, we understand."--*James*, p. 29.

This scarcity of water is not confined to the port; in the city, although the supply is such as perhaps to remove all apprehension of danger, it is, and must be sufficiently limited in the hot months, to render economy necessary. Now, to feel that it is necessary to be sparing in the use of water, must be always painful. Expedients must be adopted in Adelaide to make the superabundance of the wet season, supply the deficiency of the summer months. Water must be collected in some way or other, and until the population is large enough and wealthy enough to pay for a supply from a distance, the pain of economizing will continue. On the shores of Port Lincoln, on the other hand, water is more abundant, perhaps absolutely abundant. This should have been one reason for fixing upon that spot for the site of the "capital city."

There is no doubt, that every settler, at least every settler possessed of the habit of thinking and comparing, goes out impressed with a firm conviction of the excellence of the system which he is destined to contribute to put into operation, and of which indeed he himself forms a component part. This would be desirable, even were the system less good than it is; but considering its soundness, the enthusiasm of the first settlers, is emphatically one of the vital functions of the new community. The South Australian colonists, however, go beyond this; for they add to their admiration of the new principles, a most profound contempt for the old practice; they disdain to look to any former colony, except for evidence of the suffering and misery by which the planless efforts of the early colonists were marked.

Now, it seems to us, that there is in all former colonies, both in America and in Australia, one feature which might have been imitated: we mean that of establishing the town at the port, and if possible on some navigable river, and on no account at a considerable distance inland. As in the case of South Australia, there is no navigable river, (though the growing wealth of the future colony may render the Murray so), the next best thing was to make the port and the city one and the same. Land-carriage under any circumstances is a costly matter; good roads must be of slow growth, for they are the offspring of abundant traffic. At first, the colony and the town must be synonymous, and where the colony establishes

itself on a good harbour, roads, during the infancy of the said colony, are not wanted. As the colony marches out of town, and spreads itself to a distance around, roads begin to radiate from the town as a centre, and as they are co-extensive with settlements, they are easily supported, and not being a burthen, are well kept up. In fixing upon an inland site for the city of Adelaide, an unnecessary difficulty has been thrown in the way of the settlers, in the shape of an eight-miles drag to and from the port for every article imported or shipped. When Adelaide shall have become a second Liverpool or New York, and the colony shall have grown to a nation, this obstacle will be as nothing; but, in the infancy of the colony, it amounts to a double tax—a tax on consumption in the case of imported articles, and on production in the case of exported articles.

The ineligibility of the site of Adelaide is spoken of by Mr. Edward Stephens, a gentleman who holds an official station in the colony:*—

"The beautiful and romantic spot," he says, "that has at present been marked out for the city of Adelaide, has accordingly been chosen, not because it is in reality the best in the province, but because it is the best that has yet (January 1837) been discovered. Botany Bay was extolled by Captain Cook; and an excellent place it was, so long as Port Jackson lay unknown, within a couple of hours' sail of it. Yet, after the discovery of the latter place, who ever thought of Botany Bay? so, for aught we can tell, there may be fifty places in South Australia with land equally fertile and with commercial advantages highly superior to those possessed by the intended city. * * * Adelaide is unquestionably a beautiful spot; for agricultural purposes altogether unexceptionable. But it can never be a great *commercial city.* It is six miles at least distant from a harbour, which, if safe, is at present, at least, entirely destitute of fresh water, and not capable of receiving ships of heavy tonnage. A supply of water, it is true, could be brought to it from Adelaide—a canal might be dug, or a railroad formed; the bar could be deepened†—all this could be done if no better place exists." * * * But, "we may erect houses and commence canals to connect it (Adelaide) with the sea, and some fine morning may bring us the news that at Encounter Bay, or at Boston Bay, or at Point Drummond, or in Spencer's Gulph, a splendid harbour,‡ with abundance

* See Appendix to Mr. James's book, p. 238.

† Doubtful.

‡ "Port Lincoln has in fact been found to be equal to any harbour in England." —*James*, p. 8.

of fine land, has been discovered. What then becomes of Adelaide? Will its being the seat of government save it? Bring the ships to our doors if possible—that is the paramount consideration—the essential ingredient to commercial and colonial prosperity."

The writer then cites a long list of great cities, to prove his position; challenges the naming of a single prosperous commercial city, "seven, or six, aye, or one mile distant from navigable waters," and concludes by asserting, that "if experience is to be listened to, its plain and sound advice is, to choose the seat of your capital by the sea-shore."

Though not well adapted for a "great commercial city," Adelaide is and will remain a pleasant little town. When the Torrens is reduced by the summer's sun to the calibre of a grand junction water-pipe,—about equal to an Irishman's hat,—Mr. James's standard, there are some big holes in the bed of the river too large to be exhausted. This was one of the reasons for the choice of the site. But, for a pleasant little town, its plan is something too magnificent. In the window of Mr. Cary's map-shop, it "beats all natur'," as Sam Slick would say, eclipsing by its vastness the modest maps of Europe, Asia, Africa and America, which there keep it company. The streets are just double as broad as Portland-place, the bye lanes beat Oxford-street; and as for alleys, faugh! such a thing may be very well for

—"Deptford—navy-building town,
Lambeth and Wapping, smelling strong of pitch:"

but they are wholly unknown in the city of Adelaide, the capital of South Australia. As for the squares,—which had we been duly impressed with proper colonial ideas of the dignity of the subject, should have been mentioned first,—"they are all on such a scale of magnitude, that *if there were any inhabitants in them*, a cab would almost be required to get across them. * * The town, including park lands, is already eight miles round, with 3000 inhabitants only, * * and the consequence is, as might have been expected, that in the day-time persons are constantly losing themselves in the midst of the city; whilst at night it is impossible to move out of the house without company, unless you have any desire to sleep under a tree. This has happened to the oldest inhabitants, about whom many droll stories have been told."—*James*, p. 33.

Whenever the "commercial city" shall be commenced at Port Lincoln, it will be of more modest pretensions. The

streets will not be much wider than Oxford or Regent-street; the squares will be of corresponding dimensions; the parks, those lungs of a great city, will also be in keeping with the squares and streets; and the worthy burgesses will not have to make their wills before they venture to visit a neighbour after nightfall.

There is, however, a growing impediment in the way of a change, in the shape of a *vested interest.* Mr. Gouger, the Secretary of the colony, who was one of its earliest projectors, says, that when he first visited the country, he thought the site ill-chosen, but that he has since become convinced of the erroneousness of his first impression. What can have produced this change? Simply this:—in common with all purchasers of town-lots, Mr. Gouger has profited by the enormous advance that has taken place in their price. He is still a holder, and the establishment of a rival city, the pouring of an increased supply of town-lots upon the market, would strike at the vested interests of the present holders. Every Adelaider,—we suppose we may coin the word,*—will necessarily be up in arms on the bare mention of a new city; but commerce will find its own resting-place, even if Adelaide be continued as the government city.

"Every month that this measure is delayed, it is made more difficult, and therefore should not be postponed at all. The buyers of the 1200 town acres would feel much disappointment at the measure, as the market would be spoiled for the sale of their building lots; but they would be rightly served, for asking a monopoly price to respectable new comers, who ought to be able to obtain a town allotment, for a trifle, of the government."

The speculation in town lots has hitherto been almost the only occupation of the settlers, or, rather, of such of them as have capital. Anything deserving of the name of production has scarcely taken place. Sheep-farming must ultimately be the great occupation of the colony, yet the stock of sheep is as yet insignificant. Whatever may be the fancied gains of the town-lot jobbers, and they deserve no other name, the colony is no richer for their *industrie.* If I buy an acre of land for twenty shillings to-day, and sell it for twenty pounds, or two hundred pounds to-morrow, I am undoubtedly the richer by all the difference; but the new-comer, who purchases the lot, is so much the poorer. There is simply a transfer from one colonist to another—from the right-hand pocket of the colony

* As London, Londoner: Adelaide, Adelaider.

to the left; but there is no production. It might as well be argued that a nation grew richer by the gains of her pick-pockets. The money-making of the land-jobbers of Adelaide, brings to our recollection an American story, which is, as the lawyers say, "in point." Two American mammas are boasting of the 'cuteness of their respective offspring; each cites various instances in support of their boys' respective claims, until at length one of them says, "Well! I guess, if my two lads are shut up in a room together for an hour, they'll have made five dollars a-piece by the time they come out, by swopping jackets."

To give an idea of the profits of land-jobbing, we will publish a case which was mentioned to the writer by a friend. A gentleman laid out £250 in a lot or lots of land for a merchant in London; after the purchase was completed, he proposed to the merchant, that if he would authorize an outlay of £250 more, he, the colonist, would give him 7½ per cent. as rent, for fourteen years. The offer was accepted, and the colonist having to pay £37. 10*s.*, let his bargain to a third person for £200 a-year. In all cases, persons having gone out with a few hundred pounds, have soon converted their hundreds into thousands, and in some cases, the gain is said to have been a hundred-fold. This is an evil which presses upon the new-comers; it is, however, susceptible of an easy remedy; there should be a tax on every lot unoccupied by a house, and in default of payment, the land should escheat to the crown. The speculative advance in the price of town-lots, will contribute more than anything else to bring about the establishment of the commercial metropolis on the shores of Port Lincoln, and so far, good will come out of evil.

Another blunder, which has brought difficulties and dissensions into the bosom of the new community, is the tardiness with which the land-surveys have proceeded. The commissioners admit, in their Second Annual Report, that "the surveys have not proceeded with that celerity which the commissioners had reason to expect." Whether the surveying establishment was not sufficiently strong from the beginning, or whether the delay proceeded from any other cause, is not mentioned; but the commissioners attribute it partly to the impatience of the first settlers, who were anxious to get to the colony before the land was ready for distribution. "In colonizing a country so imperfectly explored as South-Australia, it would have been desirable to have had the coasts and harbours examined, the site of the capital determined, and a

considerable extent of land surveyed, before the first body of settlers sailed from this country. But the provisions of the South Australian act rendered this course impracticable. By the 26th clause of the Act, the commissioners were precluded from commencing their operations until after the sum of £35,000 had been advanced in this country for the purchase of land in the colony. The persons who had purchased orders for land, and who had broken-up their establishment and disposed of their business in order to do so, and to proceed to the colony, became impatient of delay, and would not be retained in this country, losing their time and wasting their resources, whilst the coasts of South Australia were in course of examination. Under these circumstances, it was impossible for the commissioners to prevent the arrival of a considerable body of settlers, before the surveys were sufficiently advanced to allow them to be placed at once on their locations. The unavoidable inconvenience has been unnecessarily increased, by a misunderstanding respecting the site of the capital, and the consequent want of that unity of purpose and effectual cooperation which ought to have existed."—Second Annual Report, in *James*, p. 265.

Although the commissioners aver that they had "supplied a surveying staff, which competent authorities have pronounced to be amply sufficient," yet, to the latest period to which the accounts have reached, the quantity of land surveyed had continued to be considerably in arrear of the "demands for additional land," and "settlers, on arriving in the colony," have *not* been able, as the commissioners anticipated, "at once to select and enter upon their locations."—Report in *James*, p. 265.

In March 1838, although three years had elapsed since the first land was sold and paid for, not a single plough had broken the sod of South Australia. (*James*, 64.) The whole colony has been kept in hot water by the perpetual, but justifiable grumblings of the disappointed emigrants. Under these circumstances, it is, after all, not very strange, that the capital, which under better management, would have gone to the actual business of settling—the cultivation of the soil—has been devoted to jobbing in town lots. When the devil, it seems, catches capital idle, he treats it as he does naughty boys,—sets it upon mischief.

There is one most satisfactory reflection, namely, that, notwithstanding the delay which the blunder above detailed has necessarily caused in the productive employment of capital,

the labourer is well remunerated. Labourers are sought by advertisement, at two pounds a-week, but the case of the "Educated labourers" is far different.

"Reflecting," says Mr. James, "that my friend Mr. ——, who is filling one of the most important situations in the new colony, receives £100 per annum, after an expense of £500 on his education, and of £500 more for learning his profession and paying the expense of his passage and fit-out, gets a salary four pounds a-year less than a common labourer. Besides which, Mr. —— must dress and associate with gentlemen, and be at a number of other expenses, unknown to the labouring man. And Mr. —— is considered uncommonly favoured and fortunate in obtaining such promotion and encouragement. This will show, that in looking at new colonies, it is better to be broad-shouldered and six feet high, than to have taken a degree of A.M. at Oxford or Cambridge: and, that the best capital, next after ready-money, to take to these new countries, is health and strength, and a hard pair of hands, suitable for rough work."—*James*, p. 73.

There is no remuneration, either in the shape of salary or wages, so low as the above in the colony. Meeting a steerage passenger, who had immigrated in the same ship with Mr. James, he asked him what he was doing. "I am employed," said he, "in collecting firewood for the brick-makers." "I hope you are doing well." "Yes," said the man, "I have no cause to grumble; it brings me in, one day with another, fourteen shillings a-day." Now, collecting wood fuel is about the lowest employment,—the merest brute labour to which a man could be put; and yet we find it rewarded with something above 200*l.* a-year.

Skilled labour is more highly remunerated; and, in especial cases, where there is an unsupplied demand, the remuneration is necessarily very high. "That tall man yonder, with his long pit-saw across his shoulders, glittering in the sun, and his mate with him, are both from New South Wales, and were even convicts, or the descendants of convicts, in that colony. They are now earning good wages as sawyers in the Mount's lofty range; and the pair of them last Sunday morning received *eighteen sovereigns* for their previous week's work in the bush. Nine pounds a-week each for a working man!" (*James*, 4, 6.) Being considerably more than the salary of the Secretary of the colony, and more than half of that of the Governor, who gets only 800*l.* a-year;—certainly not enough to keep his family in that colony.

Mr. James mentions, incidentally, that "surveyors are

wanted;" but having done so, he deems it necessary to add this explanation:—

"I have stated here that surveyors are wanted; but they are badly paid: but, as a mere general observation of this kind might still allure some young gentlemen away from their friends in England,—glad of any employment, rather than remaining idle at home,—it is nothing more than right to tell them, before they embark for South Australia, they should, if possible, have a written agreement with their employers, stating their salaries and allowances; because in all the surveying parties, when the author left the colony, which amounted to about *three*, the servants or labourers employed driving in the pegs, holding the chains, and otherwise waiting on the surveyor, were receiving about 30*l.* a-year more than their masters!"—*James*, p. 88.

We recommend these statements to the especial notice of those worthy gentlemen in the House of Commons, who are wont to be lugubriously magniloquent touching the manner in which the employers of labourers "grind" their people; exacting "excessive toil," and yet refusing a fair day's wages for a fair day's work;—we recommend them also to those orators who scruple not to pander to every prejudice, for the sake of the little cheap, though often transitory, popularity, which an implicit agreement with every popular opinion, howsoever erroneous it may be, and an unscrupulous denunciation of every man who has the courage and honesty to oppose error, is sure to bring. Let them say why the South Australian master does not "grind;" or let them say why the same master, who will give the labourer no more than 10*s.* or 12*s.* a-week in this country, is fain to bid five or six times as much in Australia? and having tried their hands at answering these questions, they will perhaps find that wages depend on some natural law, beyond the direct control of the human will. Ordinary labour is high-priced, because it is scarce, compared with the demand; educated labour is low-priced, because there is but little demand for it, and the supply is abundant.

No general inference, however, can be drawn from the present price of labour, provisions, land, or town lots, as the quantity of unemployed money-capital raises the price of everything open to free competition; and the only article not so open is the unfortunate gentleman s labour, whose salary is fixed. A little time must elapse before prices will adjust themselves: if an order were issued to lay out a town at Port Lincoln, down would tumble the prices of Adelaide town lots. The occupation of the country lots would tend, aided by the farther operations of the commissioners, to bring about a

better adjustment of land labour and capital. When the colony actually proceeds to business,—the business of production,—the feuds which have arisen between the partizans, the resident commissioner, and his opponents, will subside. Another source of difference has been the great question as to the merits or demerits of Governor Hindmarsh. Mr. James gives him credit for judgment and firmness; but the merits of the question are beyond our comprehension. According to our author, Colonel Gawler, his successor, will have enough to do to manage the turbulent little community. A light hand is earnestly recommended :—

> " Tender-hearted stroke a nettle,
> And it stings you for your pains;
> Grasp it like a man of mettle,
> And it soft as silk remaius.
>
> 'Tis the same with common natures:
> Use them gently, they rebel;
> But be rough, like nutmeg graters,
> And the rogues obey you well."

With all the jobbing in town lots—with all the blundering delays respecting the surveys—with the bickerings of the turbulent colonists, and the pecuniary supremacy of the broad shoulder and the horny palm, over the dainty double first-class man, or the senior wrangler, there is not a single word in Mr. James's book which tells against the soundness of the principles of colonization, now under trial. Moreover, Mr. James bears continued testimony to the eligibility of the country, as a site for the experiments. Its climate cannot be surpassed; its soil is good; and, with regard to the grand defect—a want of rivers, it is not worse, and may, perhaps, turn out better, than the other Australian colonies; but the great pre-eminence of South Australia, consists in its " entire freedom from convicts and *convictism.*" To the abominable system of penal colonization, Mr. James is, as every benevolent man, not corrupted by the influence of the system, must be, warmly opposed: " Although," says he, " New South Wales is constantly improving in respectable society, by a rapid influx of educated persons, principally attracted by the large profits of sheep-farming, yet it must be many years* before

* We are more sanguine on this point, than Mr. James. A committee of the House of Commons has laboured for two sessions on the subject of transportation; much valuable evidence has been collected, and a very able report presented to the house, highly condemnatory of the system. The originator of this committee, was Sir William Molesworth; and to his continued exertions are the

that colony can present any very material abatement of the enormous evil which now exists in its prison population."

"How different is South Australia! and how delightful and refreshing to know, there, that whatever company you may be in, or whatever business you may be pursuing,—there is no risk of interruption, or intrusion, by any presuming saucy convict; but that all are free, women as well as men; as free as in England. None but those who have been inured to the convict customs of the adjoining colonies, can properly appreciate this joyous contrast. * * * This, then, is the charm of South Australia; and one of the happy consequences of no convicts, is, that labour, which every one now knows is the only* source of wealth, is there as honourable and respectable, as it is healthy and profitable; and we cannot sufficiently admire the wisdom of that weighty philosopher, in discussing the subject of colonies, two hundred years ago, who said,—'It is a shameful and unblessed thing, to take the scum of the people, and wicked, and condemned men, with whom to plant; and not only so, but it spoileth the plantation; for they will ever be idle, like rogues, and not fall to work; but be lazy, and do mischief, spend victuals, and be quickly weary.'"—*James*, p. 44.

One of the consequences of the character of the materials out of which this new community is, or rather is about, to be moulded; aided, perhaps, by the continued presence to the colonial mind, of the promise held out by the South Australian act of parliament—namely, that they shall have a constitution the moment they have a population of 50,000, is a very strong leaven of the democratic spirit, which must necessarily pervade new colonies. Where a colonial secretary gets four hundred a-year, and a "top-sawyer" five,—where an educated official's dignity is satisfied with one hundred a-year,†

public indebted for the evidence which is now before the country, on the subject. A bill will be introduced on this evidence; and should it pass—and pass it must before long—a well-ordered emigration into the two penal colonies, will speedily destroy the predominance, though not wholly extinguish the influence, of the "convictism"—the felonry of the older Australian colonies; and in a single generation, no trace thereof will remain. The public owes Sir William a debt of gratitude.

To the subject of transportation, it is our intention to recur in an early number.

* Mr. James's political economy is not quite sound here. Labour is certainly the "*original* purchase-money" paid for all things; but it does not follow, that, in our present state of society, unaided labour is the *only* source of wealth. If labour is rendered more productive by the use of implements—such implements are a source of wealth; although they are correctly defined, to be the hoarded result of labour.

† It is no small praise to Mr. Wigley, the resident magistrate, to say, that all

and an indented labourer thinks himself cheated on four pounds more; where the clergyman—a scholar and a gentleman—is fain to work for two hundred, and the hewer of wood turns up his nose at two hundred *plus* eight; where, moreover, that great equalizer, education, soon rears its head in the midst of such a community, an approximation to social equality must prevail; as great an equality as the varieties of physical and intellectual power admit of. In such a case, political equality introduces itself inevitably, and without disturbance. No wonder, that the colonists of South Australia begin to dream of nationality. The spirit of independence, however sublime in itself, may sometimes, when grafted on colonial pomposity, insensibly slip into the ridiculous. Witness the following little history, related by Mr. James:*—"One of the public functionaries—which of whom is not stated—is reported, to have 'peremptorily ordered the government printer to discontinue placing the royal arms of Great Britain any longer at the head of the proclamations; such a custom being ridiculous and childish, and he hoped never to see it again.' And when the said functionary came into the office, where Mr. Jickling was busily employed in preparing the blank forms of writs, summonses, subpœnas, commitments, &c., in the usual phraseology, he exclaimed, with indignation, to the learned and gentle Jickling,—'What's all this, sir?' hastily reading over the harmless words, 'William the Fourth, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain and Ireland,' and so forth. 'Pooh! pooh! we want no nonsense of this sort here! Kings indeed! Out with it, sir,—*this is South Australia*.' The quiet barrister was in a tremble; and getting up from his seat, and rubbing his spectacles, in the simplicity of his heart, assured him there was no treason in the words; that he had merely inserted them, because it was the practise of the higher courts at Westminster. But he (the functionary) was inflexible, and said, 'Strike it out,—we'll have no kings here; if you must have a name to the papers, put in O. G., meaning that active and enterprising colonist,—Osmond Gilles, Esq.'"—*James*, p. 66.

Mr. James's book is pleasantly *anecdotal* in its character.

men concur in speaking well of him. His important and daily duties, are the best executed, and worst paid, in the colony; for all these honours and offices only bring him a salary of £100 a-year, which, when potatoes are £50 a ton, is exactly a remuneration of two tons of potatoes a-year!—*James*, p. 53.

* Mr. James's grammar, like his political economy, is sometimes a *leetle* loose.

Some of the "moving accidents" are graphically described; and, with a little more skill in the use of language, Mr. James might enrol himself among that motley class—the popular writers of the day.

The account of the first execution in Australia will probably never be forgotten in the colony. It is this:—one Magee had attempted to assassinate the sheriff, by shooting at him. He failed in his object; but was, on being tried and found guilty, left for execution. It seems to have been considered that this severity was necessary in the new colony, exposed as it is to the constant visitation of the escaped convicts of the penal colonies.

"Magee was a Catholic; and, in the absence of any clergyman of the Romish Church, the convict made application to be allowed the attendance of a respectable person of that persuasion occasionally, while he was in gaol; and, as he was thought not ill adapted to afford Magee the usual consolations of religion, the authorities immediately complied with his request.

"But it was not so easy a matter to find an executioner as it was a priest; and, to the honour of Adelaide be it spoken, this difficulty became every hour of more serious and pressing urgency. Who was to be Jack Ketch? was the first question in the morning, and the last at night. Five pounds were offered—then ten—so the report spread; but it was all in vain; for, though sensible of the benefits that would accrue to society by the extreme example that was about to be made, yet no man would accept the proffered reward; and they one and all spurned, with an honest indignation, any amount of remuneration which could possibly be offered for the detestable office.

"At length the day of execution came; and the whole population turned out to witness the sacrifice of the first victim to the outraged law. The solemn procession approaches, and it is then discovered that an executioner has been found. With the culprit was seated on the coffin a man with a horrid mask, grotesquely daubed between the eyes with white paint, having one hump on his back, and another on his breast, and so frightfully disfigured, that he seemed an imp of Erebus, ready for his prey; while all the spectators seemed to feel a thrill of horror creeping through their veins. It was a moment of most intense and exciting interest; many wished they had not come. * * *

"At length all was adjusted; and with a whip or two of the leading horse, the cart was drawn away, and many shut their eyes; whilst the poor sufferer was launched into eternity.

"But here commenced one of the most frightful and appalling sights that ever, perhaps, will be again witnessed in the colony. The noose had been so badly managed, that the knot, instead of the ear,

came right under the chin of the dying man; and, as the cart was very slowly drawn from under him, he did not *fall*, but merely slid gradually off; and there he was, hanging in the air, uttering the most excruciating cries:—'Oh, God! oh, Christ! save me!' and, to make it worse, he had been so badly pinioned, that he had got both his hands up to the rope above his head, to prevent his choking, and to ease the strain upon his neck. What was to be done?—Jack Ketch was gone. Where was he? He had been seen to gallop off, amidst the hootings of the people, on a horse that had been previously provided for the purpose, immediately the cart had been drawn away. 'Fetch him back!' had been vociferated by the crowd; and one of the mounted police was despatched after him at full gallop. All this while the poor hanging man was uttering the same piercing cries, that might have been heard a quarter of a mile,—'Lord, save me! Christ, have mercy upon me!'—and nobody knew what to do. Some, compassionating his sufferings, cried, 'Cut him down!' whilst others, with a different kind of commiseration, urged the marines to shoot him with their muskets, to put an end to his misery; whilst the poor wretch was making the most powerful efforts, with his hand up to the rope, to prevent his suffocation. It was a horrid sight, to witness the twisting of the rope, and the man turning round, like a joint before the fire, while women were fainting, and the sheriff attempting to address the multitude, amidst fierce cries of 'Shame! shame!' Jack Ketch was now seen riding back, in his horrible disguise, with the policeman at his side; and, amidst one universal shriek of execration, the horrid monster began his work of death. At one bound he made a fiendish leap upon the body of the dying man, and all was comparatively hushed; the strong man's hand could cling no longer to the rope, and his agonizing cries were heard no more. We left the executioner hanging on by the legs of the dying culprit, who, after a lapse of thirteen minutes by the watch, was still alive; for now and then there were still heard a few faint murmurs, and the body even yet exhibited some strong contortions. But it was enough; the crowd was seen dispersing here and there, amidst a pensive silence, through the forest, all hearts sickening and sad at the melancholy spectacle, and all of them having engraved on their memories, to their own dying day, the first execution in South Australia."—*James*, p. 60.

Scenes somewhat similar have recently occurred in Canada, on the occasion of the political executions; but with this difference, that the "loyal" party,—with the hellish, fiend-like feelings of a dominant, bayonet-sustained minority,—rendered, like the Orangemen of Ireland, and the slave-owners of America, tyrannical and sanguinary by their fears, instead of commiserating the sufferings of the wretched victim, actually exulted therein. On one occasion, where, through the most culpable neglect, the rope broke, and, after intense suffering,

bodily as well as mental, the culprit was hanged a second time, a brutal Jew magistrate, of Montreal, observed,—"that it served the wretch right; he had committed two treasons, and it was no more than just that he should be twice hanged."

In conclusion, we must remark, that Mr. James's book exposes all that is evil in the management of the experiment of colonizing on the new plan; nothing that his book contains, we repeat, militates against the plan itself; and, in order that both sides may be heard, the reader may consult Mr. Stephens's hypercritical and somewhat captious reply.

ART. VIII.—*Measures to be adopted for the Employment of the Labouring Classes in Ireland, detailed in an address to the Electors of Galway, with an appendix containing abstracts of the Reports of some of the Provincial Assemblies in Belgium.* By A. H. Lynch, Esq. M.P. 1839.

THE agrarian disturbances which during a long course of years have agitated Ireland, may be referred to certain general causes, which, if they do not lie on the surface, may at all events be discovered by a thoughtful inquirer. There have been persons, though we hope there are none such in these days, who would account for the accumulated evils which have afflicted that unhappy country, by the observation, equally wanting in charity and in truth, that Irishmen were constituted of different materials from other men; that it was their nature to be wild, savage, cruel, and ungrateful, and that we might sooner and easier extirpate the race, than do aught that might alter these their characteristics. With persons advancing such propositions as these, it is not the business of reasoning men to argue; we might pity, but could scarcely hope to convince, them. Nature has not been a step-mother to any of her children; she has not, it is true, given to individuals the same capacities and qualifications; but on the whole she has showered her blessings equally, and if in any particular clime or country, we should go forth, and search for the evidence of these blessings, and should return with the heart-broken confession that they are not to be found, we may with all certainty conclude, that it is because they have been intercepted, marred, perhaps turned to evil, by the policy of man. We might as justly suppose that the soil would resist the labours of the husbandman, and would receive without return the toil, the care, the skill, the capital,

he bestowed upon it, as that any nation having the benefit of sound and well-administered institutions, should repay its governors but with a catalogue of wretchedness and crime. There is an eternal connexion between cause and effect, and in the history of mankind, no such spectacle has ever been presented, as that of a well-governed people remaining steeped for ages, in barbarism, in poverty, and in crime. As we sow, so shall we reap. Culture, whether physical or moral, will ultimately produce fruit, and if we can nourish the seeds of virtue, establish peace and good order, promote public wealth, and spread happiness among millions, what higher aims can be suggested? where shall we find a nobler reward?

After a long, very long, system of oppression and misrule, better days have begun to dawn on Ireland. The Catholic Emancipation Act has given the Catholic people an equality of political rights with the Protestant, and thus one cause of strife and discontent has been removed. The time cannot be far off, when Ireland shall have a measure of corporate reform, similar to that which has been accorded to the rest of the United Kingdom. The bold, offensive, and monstrous notion of withholding from Irishmen the same municipal institutions, which are found good for Englishmen, and Scotchmen, and Welchmen,—and this only because our Irish brethren are Catholics, "and aliens,"—is one which its authors have been forced to abandon. They have to endure the mortification of defeat; but they have not the virtue to feel, nor the grace to express, contrition for having perpetrated a most gross outrage upon a gallant and high-minded people.

Political reforms, under which title we will class the three measures, of Catholic Emancipation, Parliamentary Reform, and Municipal Reform, (though the latter is not yet formally accomplished), are the necessary foundations on which to build practical measures for the improvement of Ireland. They are means to an end, but nothing more. It matters little to the Irishman, that you tell him he has a perfect equality of political rights with all other Her Majesty's subjects, if still you leave him cold, naked, hungry, unprotected, and surrounded by a famishing brood, whose cry for food, though it may pierce his heart, he cannot relieve. That which is wanting to the Irishman, is of far greater moment than political privileges, though these may be the first steps, and necessary steps, in his onward progress. What is wanting, is an improvement in his moral and social condition; and this is what, with the blessing of God, and with the co-operation of a just, liberal,

and merciful government, the present generation shall live to see accomplished. No doubt the regeneration of Ireland will be gall and bitterness to many; there are bigots in religion, and factious in politics, to whom such a sight will be a cause of rage and disappointment. There are those who would give a million to support a Church, and twenty times as much to emancipate the slave; but who would neither give nor lend to the people of Ireland. But all these notwithstanding, justice shall yet be done to Ireland!

It is now two hundred and fifty years since Edmund Spenser, then secretary to the Lord Deputy of Ireland, wrote his well known *View of the State of Ireland*, in a *Dialogue between Eudoxus and Ireneus.* In that work he introduces the subject thus,—

"*Eudox.*—But if that country of Ireland, whence you lately came, be of so goodly and commodious a soil, as you report, I wonder that no course is taken for the turning thereof to good uses, and reducing that nation to better government and civility?

"*Iren.*—Marry, so there have been divers good plots devised, and wise counsels cast already, about reformation of that realm; but they say, it is the fatal destiny of that land, that no purposes whatsoever, which, are meant for her good, will prosper or take good effect; which whether it proceed from the very genius of the soil, or influence of the stars, or that Almighty God hath not yet appointed the time of her reformation, or that he reserveth her in this unquiet state still, for some secret scourge, which shall, by her, come unto England, it is hard to be known, but yet much to be feared.

"*Eudox.*—Surely, I suppose this but a vain conceit of simple men, which judge things by their effects, and not by their causes; for I would rather think the cause of this evil, which hangeth upon that country, to proceed rather of the unsoundness of the counsels and plots, which you say have been oftentimes laid for the reformation, or of faintness in following and effecting the same, than of any such fatal course appointed of God, as you misdeem; but it is the manner of men, that when they are fallen into any absurdity, or their actions succeed not as they would, they are always ready to impute the blame thereof unto the heavens, so to excuse their own follies and imperfections. So have I heard it often wished also, (even of some, whose great wisdoms in opinion, should seem to judge more soundly of so weighty a consideration,) that all that land were a sea pool. Which kind of speech, is the manner rather of desperate men far driven, to wish the utter ruin of that which they cannot redress, than of grave councellors, which ought to think nothing so hard, but that through wisdom it may be mastered and subdued."

Spenser was not entirely right. He was wrong in supposing that any counsels had ever been laid, (unless indeed now

and then, and that fruitlessly, by individuals) for the reformation of Ireland. It was the fatal destiny of Ireland in those days, and it has remained so, almost until the days in which we now write, to be governed, in the interests of the few rather than the many. Ireland has not been treated as a nation, nor even as part of that nation to which she has been allied. Her lot has been that of a distant and conquered colony; she has been handed over as a sort of *apanage*, to a cruel and intolerant faction; a faction, than which none worse was ever permitted, in ancient or modern times, to rule over, or rather to prey upon, the vitals of any country; and which in its loud but hollow professions of exclusive loyalty and devotion, stifled the cries of its unhappy victims for pity, and for justice. Every thing connected with the history of Ireland is a marvel; and it is not the least, that a system such as this, should have endured until a few years since; nay, that this very faction, at this very moment, grimly waits the restoration of the prey, which happy accidents have wrested awhile from its talons. That a man of high and chivalrous spirit, not less noble by nature than by birth, should have presumed to build upon a broader foundation, and in governing Ireland, should have consulted the interests, and gained the hearts of its people, is an offence which the malignancy of faction can never forgive.

The idea of tranquillizing Ireland, by laying it under water, is one which not many years since was repeated,—for we see it was not original,—by an individual now no more, and whose melancholy fate will be in the recollection of many. It will be the object of the present article to show, that Ireland, though it needs not to be irrigated, may be fertilized by far better, and far easier processes; and it need hardly be suggested, that he who by judicious treatment, restores the sick to sound and vigorous health, is a better physician, than he who would terminate the malady by killing the patient.

In former times of our own history, the decay of husbandry, and the extension of pasture, had proceeded to such lengths, that parliament was called upon to apply a remedy. Accordingly we find, that in the 4th Henry VII, an act was passed for imposing a penalty, for decaying houses of husbandry, or not laying of convenient land for the maintenance of the same. In the 7th Henry VIII, another act was passed, to the effect, that if any person should decay a house of husbandry, or convert tillage into pasture, he should forfeit the moiety of his land to the lord of the fee, until the offence should be re-

formed. And in the 25th Henry VIII, another act was passed, limiting the number of sheep that one might keep, and the number of farms that one might hold. The preamble of this act is so remarkable, that we cannot forbear to quote a part of it. It states the practice of divers persons to put such lands as they could get, to pasture and not to tillage,—

"by reason whereof, a marvellous multitude, and number of the people of this realm, be not able to provide meat, drink, and clothes, necessary for themselves, their wives and children; but be so discouraged with misery and poverty, that they fall daily to theft, robbery, and other inconveniences, or pitifully die for hunger and cold; and as it is thought that one of the greatest occasions, that moveth and provoketh those greedy and covetous people, so to accumulate and keep in their hands such great portions of lands of this realm, from the occupying of the poor husbandmen, and so to use it in pasture and not in tillage, is only the great profit that cometh of sheep. And in conclusion, if remedy be not found, it may turn to the utter destruction and desolation of this realm, which God defend. Therefore, &c."

We have, in this English statute of 1533, a graphic representation of what has been, and in some degree is, the condition of Ireland.

In Spenser's view of the state of Ireland, he tells us, "that the landlords there, use most shamefully to rack their tenants." In his plans for the improvement of Ireland, he says, that the first thing we should draw the Irish into, ought to be husbandry; "it is the most easy, most needful, most enemy to war, and most hateth unquietness. It is the nurse of thrift, and the daughter of industry. I would therefore wish," he adds, "that there were some ordinances made amongst them, that whosoever keepeth no kine, should keep a plough going, for otherwise all men would fall to pasturage, and none to husbandry; which is a great cause of this dearth now in England, and a cause of the usual stealths in Ireland."

The advantages of extending the cultivation of the soil in Ireland, are obvious; it would diminish the present unhappy competition for land, which induces, or rather forces, the labourer, to hire a patch for the growth of potatoes, at a rent absolutely enormous; it would employ, perhaps, ten families, where now one family only is employed; it would check improvident marriages, which at present we find to increase in a direct ratio with the poverty of the people; it would add largely to the store of food for the whole kingdom, and render us independent of foreign supply; and it would give new

customers in great numbers to the English manufacturer, precisely in that quarter in which an increase is most beneficial to him, namely, in the home market. It has been said by Hume, that husbandry is never more effectually encouraged than by the increase of manufactures; it is equally true, that manufactures cannot be more effectually increased, than by the profitable extension of husbandry.

The first step has been taken for providing employment, and therefore for extending cultivation, in Ireland. We have seen, in the year 1838, tardily granted to Ireland, a provision for the poor, such as the parliament of Elizabeth passed for the relief of the English poor in the year 1601. Too long have the miserable peasantry of Ireland been ground to powder, by relentless landlords, (it was in these words, that a large portion of the landlords were characterized by Lord Clare); henceforth the evil-doer shall bear the penalty, if he occasion, or even permit idleness, and poverty, and want, among the people. Though their distress may not touch his heart, yet shall it reach him where he can feel;—in his pocket; and force him to the conclusion, that he might profit by paying his money in exchange for productive labour, rather than expending it in the support of paupers in the workhouse, from whom he can obtain no return. If hereafter there shall be, as too often there have been before, famine and pestilence in Ireland, the lords of the soil shall no longer escape from the consequences of the visitation; nor shall any draw back in the shape of rent from the poor, to be spent in a foreign land, the generous contributions which a kind-hearted people transmitted for the relief of human nature in the agony of distress.

If the act for the relief of the poor be the first great step towards improving the people in their social condition, another act may also be mentioned, as likely to be productive of great advantages to Ireland. We speak of the Act for the Commutation of Tithes. The tithe system in Ireland operated as a direct discouragement of tillage; for the tithe was charged wholly on the produce of agricultural industry, and pasture-lands were exempt. The evils of the pasture system were enormous, but they were grievously aggravated by the tithe system; and both together were, more than a hundred years ago, pronounced by Mr. Dobbs, to be the great and prominent causes of the misery and disquiet of Ireland. In commuting tithe into a rent-charge,—in decreasing the amount of the burthen, and in placing that burthen directly on the land-

lord, a positive good has been accomplished, and many evils have been removed. The Commutation Act is emphatically a Bill of Peace. While the poor law tends, as we confidently hope, to improve the relations between the peasant and the landholder—the commutation act removes a fruitful source of dissension between the peasant and the Protestant clergy. Thus far, the legislature has done well; it is its duty to proceed farther. To provide against absolute destitution, is a point gained,—but we have yet higher objects to accomplish; we have to raise the character, and improve the condition—moral as well as social—of the people of Ireland. A national system of education, upon an enlarged and liberal basis, will operate a moral revolution among the rising generation; and for the rest, all that is wanting, is employment. There are ample means for this purpose: the reclamation of the waste lands of Ireland, will employ all the labour which at present unhappily wants a market; and while the labourer will be made content with the wages of his honest toil, the capitalist will receive abundant interest for his investment; and all the sources of public and private wealth will be incalculably increased. The people supplicate for employment; they travel hundreds of miles in search of it: there does not exist a people on earth so eager for it. Surely, such materials ought not to be thrown away.

In his first report on the subject of poor laws in Ireland, Mr. Nicholls says,—"It is, I think, a circumstance favourable to the establishment of poor laws, that there is so much land lying waste and uncultivated, in Ireland. A large portion of this land appears to be susceptible of profitable cultivation; and the order and security which the introduction of poor laws would tend to establish, would encourage the application of capital to such objects. If capital were to be so applied, considerable tracts would be brought under culture, and thus afford immediate occupation to the now unemployed labourers. I have no experience in the reclamation of bog-land, but the finest crops which I saw in Ireland, were on land of this description; and this often very imperfectly drained. It appeared, from what I saw, and from all that I could learn by careful enquiry, that, wherever sea-sand, or sea-weed, or lime, is to be obtained, bog-land may be cultivated to advantage; presuming always, that it is first effectually drained. Now, Ireland abounds in limestone, beyond any country that I have ever seen; and along the western coast, sand and sea-weed are plentiful. The elements of fer-

tility, therefore, are at hand; all that is wanted, is capital and enterprise to call them into action. The enclosing, and draining, and the whole process of reclamation, would afford employment to a large number of labourers, who are now, for a great portion of the year, idling about, without occupation; and, when the land so reclaimed becomes subjected to a regular process of cultivation, it will continue to afford them regular employment, at daily wages."

The work which we have prefixed to this article, forms a valuable supplement to the two Reports of the Committee on Public Works in Ireland, dated June and August 1835. It is by the same author, and gives him a new claim to the gratitude of his constituents, and of his country. Mr. Lynch is no theorist; he aspires only to measures of practical and proveable utility; and he brings forward no proposition which is not supported by analogy, or proved by experience.

"Our present business," he says, "respects the employment of the people. The want of that employment is one of the greatest and most pressing evils of our unhappy country; and yet the means of employment, as well as the sources of production, are most abundant. There is no country in the world where labour is more required, and none where it can be more profitably employed. The means so bountifully given by Providence have hitherto been neglected; and what is the consequence? Misery of the people, agrarian disturbance, and insecurity of property. The statute book unfolds the sad history of Ireland. In it are contained numerous acts, passed within the last hundred years, penal and coercive in the extreme. From the titles and recitals of these acts, you may discover the causes of their being passed, and you may trace them all to agrarian disturbances, arising from the opposition of the people to the payment of tithes, the want of employment, and the scarcity of cultivated land appropriated to their use. And why is it that the people are not employed, or fairly or adequately remunerated for their labour? The discouragement of her manufactures—the neglect of her agriculture, will easily account for this; and, as a consequence, the unsettled state of the country."

It is but too true, and as lamentable as true, that while we have simply neglected the agriculture of Ireland, we have positively discouraged her manufactures. It is not very easy now to believe, but nevertheless we know it to be a fact, that, at the pressing instance of the two Houses of Parliament, in England, king William III undertook to discourage the woollen manufacture in Ireland. In answer to the Commons' address, in 1698, he said,—"I shall do all that in me lies, to discourage the woollen manufacture in Ireland." He faithfully redeemed

his pledge. If, in other departments of trade, the same policy has not been so directly pursued, in many, the same results have been produced by the unwise expedients resorted to by the Irish parliament, under the direction of the English government. Mr. Lynch says,

"The unimproved condition of Irish estates has a most extraordinary appearance, in close proximity to markets requiring increased supplies of food, and yet as open to those of Ireland as they are to English produce. Ireland has never yet supplied England in a year with much more than half a million quarters of wheat and flour, while the deficiency of English home produce has frequently required an importation of nearly six times that quantity, thereby rendering recourse to other countries necessary for supplying the wants of English consumers, which, under proper management, Ireland is, to a great extent, if not wholly, capable of supplying, with greater advantage, to England.

"The English agricultural markets invite augmented supplies of every kind—corn, cattle, and butter. At present, £700,000 a-year is paid for foreign butter: and if Ireland were to supply this quantity, the additional cattle necessary for the purpose, would, it is computed, afford means of fertilizing annually thousands of acres of land.

"The relative condition of England and Ireland presents an anomaly in the economy of nations. England's markets for agricultural produce are insufficiently supplied, and her marts for the sale of manufactures are frequently glutted by production exceeding the demand. Ireland has natural resources to render her capable of supplying the produce which England wants. An extensive arable territory, not half cultivated, and millions of acres lying waste, which may be rendered fertile lands, while labour exists to redundancy as compared with the employment it obtains; in consequence of which the country abounds with misery, turbulence, and crime. Let Ireland be enabled to send into England that quantity of produce which must annually be imported, and in return England will have a corresponding increase in the demand for her manufactures."

Mr. Lynch refers to the reports of the commissioners appointed in 1809 to enquire into and examine the nature and extent of the bogs in Ireland, and the practicability of draining them. These reports are full of valuable information. Nothing can be more decisive and satisfactory than the opinions of the commissioners—able, skilful, and experienced men—in favour of reclamation, founded as they are upon the minutest examination, and the reports of the different engineers. It appears, that of the twenty millions of acres of land in Ireland, there are five millions of acres of waste lands. It appears, that the extent of bog lands exceeds 2,830,000

acres, of which 1,576,000 are flat bogs, convertible to the general purposes of agriculture; and the remaining 1,255,000 are mountain bogs, convertible, at a very small expense, to pasturage and feeding. Of the 1,576,000, the largest portion was specially reported on by the engineers. The reports state the situation of the bogs to be highly favourable, the surface of all being level-free (that is, above the level of the sea), and most of them not less than 300 feet above the sea, besides being intersected by streams, the channels of which are calculated to be outlets for the water taken off from the interior of the bogs. Mr. Nimmo has calculated that one-tenth of the mountain bogs may be irrigated and reclaimed, by a judicious distribution of the mountain waters, at an expense not exceeding £1 per acre. With respect to the expense and probable return for the money expended upon the flat bogs, there is some difference of opinion; but the opinions of all are favourable beyond what may be well imagined. The difference of opinion refers only to the extent of advantage and profit. In the commissioners' fourth report, there is the following passage, which may be considered the summary of the opinions of the commissioners:—

"Various as are the modes of improvement, and the estimates proposed by our different engineers, we must consider that the fair average of their opinions represent, that, by an expenditure of from £1 to £20 an acre, the reclamation would secure to the improver a permanent rent of from 10 to 15 per cent. on the expenditure. Some of them, on whose judgment we place great reliance, are even of opinion, that the whole of the capital employed would be returned by the produce of the first crops which effected the improvement."

There are, besides, vast quantities of land on the sides and banks of rivers and lakes, that might, by proper drainage and reclamation, be brought into cultivation. Mr. Lynch adds,

"In addition to the great facilities already mentioned for the reclamation of these waste lands, I should state, that in most cases there is at hand either limestone, or coral, or sea sand, or sea-weed, and scarcely in any instance is the necessary manure two miles distant. It has been well remarked, as a most extraordinary invitation of Providence, that in the middle of these bogs, and not unfrequently in the granite country, seams of limestone are found—and yet such opportunities have been hitherto neglected."

In the Appendix to his work, (No. 6,) Mr. Lynch sets out a valuable paper by Mr. Griffith, on the system of reclaiming bog and moory mountain pasture, as practised on the crown lands of Pobble O'Keefe, in the county of Cork. The account

Mr. Griffith gives of these experiments is most interesting. After dividing the bogs at King Williams-town into three classes, he says the cost of the reclamation of the flow bog, (varying from five to twenty feet in depth) per statute acre, is £9. 9*s.* 10*d.*, which includes drainage, claying, and limeing; of subsequent manure, £2. 15*s.* 6*d.*; and of cultivation for four years, £13. 7*s.*; in all, £25. 12*s.* 4*d.* When the land is perfectly reclaimed, the actual return of the four years is £24. 3*s.* 5*d.*, leaving £1. 9*s.* 1*d.* the portion of the outlay not returned in the four years; and for this outlay the land is worth at least 10*s.* per acre, which was before not worth 2*s.* In respect of the close-grained mountain bog, there is an actual profit left after four years' cultivation, of £1. 17*s.* 7*d.*, after the return of all the capital expended, and the land is worth 12*s.* 6*d.* per acre. And in respect of shallow mountain bog, the expense he calculates to be £3. 13*s.* to £4. 11*s.* and after this outlay the land is worth 10*s.* per acre for meadow and pasture.

Similar experiments have been tried, and all with success, by various individuals. We may mention, among others, Mr. Lynch, Mr. Fitzstephen French, the present Provost of Trinity College, and Mr. Peirce Mahony. Part of the bog drained by the latter gentleman on his Gunsborough estate, near Listowell, is a deep flow-bog of about forty feet in depth; the one-half is drained by deep under-drains, the other half by small surface drains; the former cost £4. 3*s.* 4*d.* an acre, the latter 3*s.* 4*d.* only; and the result is, that the division drained at 3*s.* 4*d.* is as effectually drained, as the division at £4. 3*s.* 4*d.* His expenditure has been considerable; in the first two years, one-half has been returned to him by the crops, and it is estimated that the third year will fully repay him the whole capital employed in reclamation. The kindness of Mr. Mahony has supplied us with all the interesting details of his work, and we only regret that our space is too limited to lay them before our readers.

"The reclaimable wastes of Ireland," says Mr. Lynch, "including bog lands, marsh lands, and lands flooded or covered with water the greater part, if not the whole, year, amount to five millions of acres, as already stated, which, if properly drained and brought into cultivation, would yield, at least, a rental of three or four millions. The rental of Ireland at this moment is ten millions only, which there can be no doubt might be doubled if the lands were properly cultivated. It is stated by the Poor Law commissioners, that the produce of Ireland is not more than one-fourth of that of England. How is this? The soil of England is less fertile than that of Ireland, but is

assisted more abundantly with manure, and a proper rotation of crops; while the more fertile soil of Ireland is less cultivated, because there are not facilities for transportation of agricultural produce and manure, and no attention is paid to the system of cropping."

Mr. Lynch gives in the Appendix, (No. 2,) a paper taken from among the tables appended to the Second Report of the Irish Railway Inquiry Commissioners, in which Mr. Stanley proves, by contrasting the consumption of exciseable commodities in Ireland and Scotland (a contrast affording the very strongest test of capability), that if the condition of the Irish population were raised to an equality with that of the Scotch, Ireland would bé *capable* of paying, in excise alone, an dditional revenue of *six millions* annually.

Mr. Lynch suggests several measures as proper to be adopted by parliament. Most of them have been before the country since 1836, when he presented them to the House ot Commons, in pursuance of resolutions adopted by the committee of 1835, and have been adopted and recommended by the Poor Law Commissioners. Their design is merely to remove the obstacles which now impede the developement of Ireland's great natural resources. Finding it impracticable for an individual member to pass measures of this description, although recommended by a Committee of the House, Mr. Lynch has placed them in the hands of the government.

To understand the bearing of these measures, it is necessary to premise what the principal difficulties in the way of reclamation are. They are these:—

1st. The want of co-operation.

2nd. The inability of tenants for life to act.

3rd. The want of capital.

4th. The confusion of boundaries of estates.

5th. The want of confidence in undertakers.

6th. The want of power of entering upon adjacent lands.

7th. In case of leases, the want of mutual immediate advantages to be derived both by landlord and tenant.

To these several difficulties, the respective measures in question propose to apply suitable remedies.

The first measure, is a bill to promote reclamation and improvement; and to render navigable, rivers and lakes. As regards reclamation and improvement of waste lands, the only process proposed to be effected is drainage; and the general objects, are, first,—to enable those who are willing to improve, to do so; and, secondly,—to compel those who will share in

the benefit, to contribute a due proportion of the expense. The checks on this latter power, are, that two-thirds of the proprietors of the lands to be improved, should apply to the Board of Works for a commission; that the commissioners should be appointed by the board; and that the work should not be executed until a survey is made, and the board satisfied of the practicability and expediency of the proposed work. The money required, is proposed to be advanced by the board, out of the money in their hands, for loans, under the Public Works Act, and to be repaid by easy instalments; and the expense is to be apportioned by the commissioners amongst and upon the lands improved. The details of this measure, are similar to those of several English acts for drainage of marsh and fen lands.

The second measure, is to confer upon tenants for life, in general, powers of leasing, similar to those which, in all well-drawn settlements in England, are conferred upon tenants for life. The powers proposed, are, to lease for thirty-one years in possession, at the best rent, and without any fine; to lease for ninety-nine years, for building, and for sixty years in repairing houses; and to lease mines for sixty years. There is a sufficient check in the fact, that the lease would be void, if contravening any of the terms and restrictions contained in the powers. The object of this measure, of course, is to give the tenant such a tenure in the land, as will induce him to improve, and properly cultivate it.

The third measure, is to increase the leasing powers of the board of Trinity College, Dublin; and of the trustees of Erasmus Smith's schools; and Sir Patrick Dunne's Charity. The estates of these several bodies are, in the whole, very extensive; and a large portion of the college lands are waste, but reclaimable lands. It is proposed to increase the leasing power from twenty-one to forty-one years. The effect of which will be, to save the constant expense to the tenants, arising from the necessity of frequent renewals; and to encourage improvement of the lands.

The fourth measure, is to enable tenants for life to drain, enclose, fence, and plant their lands, in settlement; and to charge three-fourths of the expense—not exceeding, in any case, three years' rent, or value, of the estate of which the lands improved form a part,—upon the settled inheritance of the estate. The checks upon this power, are, that the improvements must be undertaken by leave of the Court of Chancery, to be obtained in a summary way, when all proper proofs and

preliminary enquiries will be required and made, and the actual expenditure must afterwards be duly vouched to the court.

The fifth measure, is, for facilitating the conversion of leases for lives renewable for ever, into estates in fee-simple. The inconveniences of the present system of tenure, are obvious. It is proposed to give power to tenants for life, and other incapacitated persons, to sell the fee-simple to the lessee, with the approbation of the Board of Works; the money to be laid out in the purchase of lands, to be settled to the same uses, under the direction of the Court of Chancery, to be obtained in a summary way. This conversion of the tenure, to be voluntary, for five years; but after that, to be made compulsory, upon the same principle as the tithe commutation in England.

The sixth measure, is to give a summary remedy for partition, and for ascertaining the boundaries of lands,—for the former, by petition to the Court of Chancery; and for the latter, by petition to one of the judges of assize.

The seventh measure, is to provide for the maintenance of public roads, by means of elective boards, who shall have power to levy and apply rates for maintaining the roads; thus superseding the grand juries, who, as not being elective, are not responsible. The rate-payers to be the electors; the districts to be the poor law unions; the rates to be according to the poor law valuations; and the Board of Works to have the general control.

The eighth measure, is to enable the Bank of Ireland to lend money on mortgage.

And the ninth, and last, is to increase the powers and the efficiency of the Board of Works, by placing at their disposal, £500,000, to be advanced on loan for public works; and especially, for making roads and bridges, and small harbours on the coast. Hitherto, the monies advanced by the board have been most beneficially applied; and in no case has there been any loss. But the board has not sufficient funds. It cannot be expected that waste lands shall be cultivated, unless we first afford the means of transport; and especially, of carrying the necessary manure. And, wherever these means have been afforded, the beneficial effect has been such as to amount to something like enchantment. Sir John Burgoyne has stated, in his evidence before the Committee of 1835, that the formation of roads through uncultivated districts, in Ireland, would be more beneficial than in any other country in

the world. We know what they have effected, under much less favourable circumstances, in the Highlands of Scotland.

Under every species of adverse circumstances, Ireland has still made progress during some years past; it is but an earnest of farther, and more extensive, and more substantial, improvements. We have seen what was the condition of England in former times; and such, indeed, it remained, until times much later than those which we have noticed. But let us look to the condition of England now! Not very dissimilar from the former state of England, was that of Scotland before the revolution of 1688.* But let us look to the condition of Scotland now! We have seen, also, what was the state of Ireland,—but here, alas! our triumph ends. It is painful and humiliating to think, how long that state has remained without substantial improvement. There is not a nation on the face of the earth, pretending to civilization, which has made such little progress during the last 250 years, as Ireland. Let us think of this with shame and remorse,—let us seek to repair our faults, which have been many,—and let us encourage ourselves with the sure hope, that the same happy changes which have been produced in England and in Scotland, would appear also in Ireland, if Ireland were equally well treated. It is time that we render her justice; and while, in truth, we but discharge tardily—and, in part—a debt, which we are bound to pay with interest, she will receive it with gratitude, as a gift of kindness. Let us seek, at length, to attach the Irish, by solid and lasting benefits; we shall then create a union which shall not be severed:—such chains as these are sure to bind.

ART. IX.—1. *Geraldine: a Tale of Conscience.* By E. C. A. Vol. III. London: 1839.

2. *The Propagation of the Faith: a Sermon preached in the Sardinian Chapel, London, by the R. R. Dr. Baines.* London: 1839.

WE hail with pleasure a continuation of the admirable religious novel of *Geraldine;* and such a continuation,—such a development, rather, of the preceding volumes,—as must give them additional value in every point of view. In them was traced the progress of an intelligent and sincere

* See Laing's "History of Scotland," vol. iii. p. 502.

mind, following up the truth from point to point, until it has discovered, in the Catholic Church, its earthly home and centre. In this we find the farther progress of that soul, diligently using the means of grace vouchsafed to it in the Church, till, one by one, the temptations and attractions of earth become powerless: even its virtues and best affections are absorbed, not lost, in divine charity, and the soul finds its true and only joy in the bosom of its God. The fearless, but chastened, pen of the author has ventured upon the highest ground of Catholic mysticism; not shrinking from, nor daring to trivialize, the awful subject, nor yet scorning to meet the difficulties of the unspiritualized minds, to whose contemplation she has presented it. Beginning at the commencement of the spiritual life, she has followed, step by step, the progress of the soul towards God, and clearly explained the tendency of every Catholic institution, in schooling, training, and urging the soul onwards in this holy race, till it has ceased to contemplate or desire any thing, save God alone, and has become, like St. Paul, ready to be consummated.

To Protestants this work will convey much information upon those points on which they most require it: nothing is so difficult of comprehension to our fellow-Christians as the voluntary sufferings of Catholics; to many they appear as self-righteousness, to others as absurdities; not a few hear of the austerities of the saints with such feelings of mingled disgust and compassion, as might be inspired by the ancient sacrifices to Moloch; they have not studied the mysterious union, established by the cross, betwixt humiliation and glory,—betwixt the cross and the joys of heaven. "He that hateth his own life, shall find it;" this has been the great secret of the mysterious, the superhuman, sanctity of countless multitudes in our Church; they hated their own lives—all that to mankind in general makes up "life," they hated; the appetites of the body, the passions of the soul, the temptations of the world,—even that tender affection of the natural heart for creatures, that clings round the souls, and fetters the steps of other men,—they hated; they cast them off, and trampled on them; then, when no human motive, or will, or feelings, remained, and body and soul were alike passive in the hands of their Creator, they found their lives, their new and spiritual lives—a portion, so to speak, of their eternal lives,—commencing within them. If trials remained, by which they perfected their virtue, and glorified God; still, in the words of our authoress, "grace had resumed the vantage ground," and was victorious.

Thus dwelling on the confines of the spiritual world, they beheld God, as it were, face to face, and He poured out upon them His power and glory, and the perception of His presence, enabling them to love, and labour for their fellow-creatures with a portion of their own inexhaustible charity, and to comfort their weaker brethren by their stupendous miracles, filling them with wisdom and the knowledge of things to come, and penetrating their souls with ecstasy,—sometimes with mysterious sufferings. But this glorification of our regenerated nature belongs to the Catholic Church alone;—can never be attained to without its boundaries. All mankind rejoiced in His mercy, the good in His protection; His sun shone on the just and the unjust, and the prayers of the widow and the orphan ascended before Him; but the "glory of the Lord" filled the "house of the Lord;" the "cloud" was seen in the Temple only, and by the worshippers therein. But while we vindicate to ourselves this sign and seal of the Lord's favour,—the perceptible, almost familiar, intercourse which in *all times* He has vouchsafed to His chosen people,—let us not forget that multitudes of our erring fellow-Christians are seeking Him,—seeking Him, like Cornelius, by prayer, and alms-deeds; and sensibly feeling that, without Him, there can be no rest to their souls. What has been *their* great cause of complaint against the Catholic Church?—want of spirituality. It was self-righteous; it rested in forms; it appealed to earthly feelings only; it obscured from the soul the love and all-sufficiency of the Redeemer!! To such as these, provided they are sincere in their objections, we recommend the third volume of *Geraldine;* here they will find how many things are used as *means*,—means of self-culture and means of grace, in which they have supposed us to rest as in *an end.* They cannot fail to admire the wisdom of those means; and when they contemplate the state of grace,—nay, let us boldly use the word which, though they object to it, we derive from Scripture, of *perfection*,—to which the human soul is brought by them, will they not consider, in a less presumptuous and harsh spirit, the Church that has *realized*, and brought into action, far more than their own purest, fondest, theories have imagined. Let us return to the work before us, of which we shall give but a short analysis. The convert, whom, at the close of the second volume, we left at a moment of so much interest, is carried by her father to Rome; and we have an instructive account of the ceremonies of Holy Week, and their hidden meaning, which must

be of advantage to all; but chiefly to those who have the happiness of participating in them. The General, whose moral cowardice has not been amended by his daughter's noble example, now obtains a foreign appointment, and proposes to his daughter a marriage with Sir Eustace De Grey; to this she consents, and, with her husband, shortly afterwards returns to England. The first years of the marriage are lightly and skilfully touched; enough only being told to show us Sir Eustace pointing out, and Geraldine eagerly following upon, the road to holiness,—until she has advanced so far, that *to go on* becomes a necessity to her soul; she is "so detached from self, that the next step, detachment from creatures, is already prepared."

Geraldine tells her husband, that she can love only God. If our human feelings are for a moment pained by this situation, it is not long before the author draws back our thoughts to the Divine agency: no duty, no charity is violated, but the two holy souls strive to detach themselves from earth, and to merge their earthly feelings in those of divine charity. It is borne in upon Sir Eustace's mind, that they are to be separated: and accordingly, he himself is cut off by a fatal accident. All that follows of Geraldine's spiritual life is highly instructive; not a word but must be profitable to the soul. After deliberating some time, she determines to become a nun of the order of Mercy, and sails for Ireland to receive her conventual education, and to take the vows, previous to her returning to establish a convent of the same order at Elverton. Her reasons for preferring this order—the life led in the convent, and many details respecting the exterior duties and internal direction of the nuns, form the remainder of the volume, together with an account of the ceremonies observed at clothing and taking the vows, and it is enlivened by several beautiful episodes. Throughout, the same admirable discretion and good taste is discernible, as in the former volumes; the same easy elegance of style, and, where the subject admits of it, the same vivacity in the description of characters, which are evidently drawn from life; indeed, in one instance, we are inclined to think this generally happy talent carried too far. The heroine is introduced to the late well-known Baroness de M—; and while full justice is done to the munificent charity of the venerable lady, her peculiarities, which will be recognized by her friends, are placed in somewhat too broad a light to be thus presented to the public; and though certainly amusing, we could have wished this part of the work abbreviated, or,

indeed, left out altogether; other means might have been found for introducing the interesting account of the labours of the Trappists in Ireland. With this single exception, we have derived unmixed pleasure from this excellent work; and, when the sanctified heroine sets forth with her companions to found a new convent, we remember, with heartfelt joy, that this, if common report speak true, is not mere imagination. Sisters of the Orders of Mercy—we believe Miss Agnew is at their head,—are even now awaiting but the finishing of their convent to establish themselves, in no peaceful pleasing village, but in the most crowded and destitute part of the metropolis. May all blessings attend their path.

We remember hearing it said by one of our excellent Vicars-Apostolic, that in *this* country he considered the crowning work of mercy to be that of education: we are therefore rejoiced to find that the Sisters of Mercy combine, with their visitation of the poor, the charge of poor-schools; but we trust it will not be long, ere some of those orders who give their exclusive attention to education, may be established amongst us, to come to the aid of the admirable Christian brothers; and to change into joy, the anxiety which Catholics must at present feel for the destiny of the multitudes of little ragged children, our especial charge, who swarm in the streets of London. This subject of education is of such exceeding importance, it engrosses so much of the anxious attention of our clergy, and their bishops, that we must be pardoned for introducing it; nor is it unsuitable to do so, after reviewing a work which brings to our minds the principal wants of our progressive Catholic Society. There are signs in the times, symptoms of angry feeling amongst the populace of this country, at which the boldest must feel some uneasiness; it is for us to decide whether the rising generation of Catholics shall join the ranks of the factious, or whether we shall retain this numerous body in Christian allegiance, and worth and peaceful industry: to do this, we must now provide them with education, and this upon so extensive a scale, that our clergy need not be obliged to select and limit their numbers, but may be enabled freely to seek out those neglected children, who would otherwise be left by their parents to their fate. Nay, how gladly should we see them possessed of means to reclaim the vicious by means of a "Children's Friend Society," which, under their care, might be freed from the mismanagement and abuses which so frequently attend even the best-intentioned institutions of the Protestants. To education again we

must look for the removal of the chief impediment to the conversion of our country; what is that impediment? not the want of chapels; our ancestors and those of all the Christians in Europe, heard the truth beneath the open canopy of heaven. John Wesley, in later times, preached from the hill-side, and was heard by thousands, amongst whom his influence is still felt. We might do the same, had we the priests; but these are wanting. We have so few, that their utmost efforts scarcely suffice to keep together the fold as it now is: they labour, even to the sacrifice of life, to fulfil the needful duties of their own parishes; even for this we have not sufficient. Where then are we to look for those who can undertake the conversion of strangers? where hope to find a supply for the vast colonies, where the English language is chiefly spoken, and for which we are peculiarly interested? Our only hope is in our colleges: let these be generously supported, according to the urgent recommendation of the sermon which we have placed at the head of this article, and we shall have a supply of active, learned, and holy priests, to carry the glad tidings of Catholic truth throughout our land and its dependencies, and to bring down blessings on our own heads. To our colleges also, we must look for the education of our sons, excluded as they are, and as we wish them to be, from Protestant schools. By liberally supporting our colleges, we shall enable them to secure the time and talents of first-rate professors. At present, in those instances where learned men have been prevailed upon to undertake the task of instruction, their services have in general been rendered gratuitously, or for such a paltry pittance, that it is scarcely just, scarcely desirable, that men who have the evening of life to provide for, should make the sacrifice of their best years, upon such terms; still for the love of God, some have submitted to them: but the deficiency has been great, and to supply it, recourse has been had to the assistance of the clergy: for a certain time before entering upon the mission, the younger priests are called upon to teach in the colleges, where they have received their own education. One of two things must of course happen; either the mission is deprived of their services when able and anxious to commence their momentous duties, and souls are perishing for want of the pastor, who, by reason of the poverty of his college, is detained, to perform the duty of a school-master; or the education of the priests themselves is curtailed, and they who have so much to teach, and so much to learn, are obliged to abridge the precious years of their own study. There are many other evils in this system, which are too obvious

to be dwelt upon. The young priests may become wearied, and their ardour cooled, by an employment, for which they may have no vocation; they may not be good teachers, or if they are, the constant change must be injurious to their pupils. These, however, are minor evils, compared with those already alluded to. But the power of increasing the number of the clergy, is even a more grave consideration; at present a very large proportion of the candidates for holy orders, are supplied by the less wealthy classes, and their education is almost always gratuitous. The vocation of these young men cannot be ascertained, till they have for many years received education and maintenance, and of course it often happens that they are considered, or consider themselves, not qualified for holy orders. Colleges are therefore put to a heavy expense, in this primary object of their institution; and unless something more is done towards supporting them, than the mere payment by individuals, of a moderate pension with their sons, it is evident that they must fail either in justice to their pupils, or to the districts which look to them for priests. It is indeed a lamentable thing, that our zealous bishops, before they venture to add to the number of their students in divinity, should be obliged to calculate,—not the wants of their missions; not the requests of their clergy for assistance; not the knowledge that here or there a prospect is opening for bringing souls into the Church—but the number of lay pupils, whom caprice or chance may have brought to their colleges. Yet this must be the case, until our colleges shall be endowed with some property of their own. To raise money for such endowments, by means of small weekly sums, to be collected over the whole kingdom, is, we believe, the present plan of our venerable prelates: let us hope it may be zealously seconded. By means of subscriptions of a single half-penny a week, systematically collected, the Society for the Propagation of the Faith is doing wonders. Were such a trifling sum, (which no one would feel,) paid steadily by only a third part of the Catholics of England, such a sum would be collected as would speedily place our religion, (humanly speaking,) in security, and this without interfering with the demands of local charity, or with the obligation to do our part towards converting the heathen, for which we have now, through the *Société pour la Propagation de la Foi,* so glorious an opportunity.* Let no one say that we ask too

* The more wealthy Catholics would confer exceeding benefit by donations or legacies of small sums, to found exhibitions for the encouragement of deserving pupils in our several colleges.

much :—if there are any such, we will answer them in the eloquent words of the sermon already alluded to.

"And how were our own Saxon ancestors converted? In the sixth century, the gospel was preached to them, by a few zealous missionaries, who possessed no human means, being poor by profession. But their words enkindled, among their converts, the heavenly fire of charity, which failed not to produce its usual effects. In an incredibly short space of time, by the voluntary offerings of the new converts, the whole country was divided into dioceses and parishes, furnished with their respective cathedrals and parish churches; whilst vast numbers of both sexes, "leaving all things to follow Christ," studded the land with monasteries, convents, schools, colleges, universities, and every other institution, which either the wants of the poor, the sufferings of the afflicted, the instruction of the ignorant, or the cultivation of literature and science, could require. No wonder that heaven rewarded their piety with it's richest graces: no wonder that our calendars should have been crowded with native saints: that England should have been denominated the island of saints; that its population formed by nature for religion, should have become models of steady and cheerful virtue, and that religious divisions, for near a thousand years, should have been unknown amongst them. But why enlarge on a subject so full of painful recollections? suffice it to say, that there never was a nation converted to Christianity, but by the united zeal of the lawful successors of the apostles, and the grateful charity of their converts; so that there can be no shade of doubt respecting the intentions of our Divine Legislator. He intended that his ministers should sow the heavenly seed, that their converts should water it, and that God should give the increase. Hence if the apostle could justly say, 'Woe be to me if I preach not the gospel;' his converts might with equal justice, say, 'Woe be to us if we refuse to co-operate in the good work.' In either case, the graces of God are lost to mankind; his designs of mercy are frustrated; and woe to him by whose guilty apathy, or sordid avarice, the misfortune cometh. The fault is not with God. He gives the prolific seed, and the fertile soil. If the husbandman refuse to sow the former, or cultivate the latter, the want of produce must be imputed, not to God, but to man alone." —pp. 8-9.

Nor must we lose sight of another important service, which our colleges have it in their power to render us; from their extent, their style of building, and the number of clergy collected within their walls; they are enabled to revive all the accurate correctness and splendour with which the ceremonies of religion should be performed, but which have been often found impracticable in our poor and crowded chapels: thus fixing a high standard in ecclesiastical matters, and impressing the minds of our sons, with a proper sense of the majesty and beauty of

their Church. This idea may appear far-fetched, but we are persuaded that it is not so: too long have men been accustomed to practice their religion in secret places; the rising generation will be differently situated, and their ideas should be enlarged accordingly. The unequalled situation, and princely building of Prior Park, has now for some time been the object of admiration. There for the first time we believe, of late years, or at any rate for the first time in the neighbourhood of a large town, the blessed sacrament was publicly honoured and carried on Corpus Christi Day, around the extensive grounds, attended by every member of the household; while crowds of Protestants witnessed the grand procession; and it is not too much to hope, that some amongst them might be touched by the beauty of the worship, and receive their portion of the benediction. Since that time, the New College at Oscott has been finished, in the best style. Very large, solid, and commodious, it is built upon a plan which admits of almost any extension without detriment to its symmetry. Fronted by a noble terrace, and surrounded by orchards, plantations, and fields of its own land, it forms a little world within itself, yet is near enough to the important town of Birmingham, to afford to its inhabitants the means of seeing the beauty as well as holiness of our religion. Here too, Catholic gentlemen may at stated seasons of the year perform their retreats, under the same direction as the members of the establishment, edified by its collegiate stillness, and the holy spirit which pervades all its regulations. It is scarcely to be believed how exquisitely beautiful the ceremonial of our Church becomes, in these establishments, and in the hands of ecclesiastics, who have the time, and to whom it is a labour of love, to adorn the altar of the Lord. An instance of this, was the manner in which the last Easter was kept at Oscott. It was the first since they had had full possession of their stately building, and all were desirous to hallow it. They had the advantage of the direction of the talented enthusiast, Mr. Pugin, who threw into the task all his ingenuity, and all his antiquarian lore; and the result was worthy of it. At the beginning of mass on Holy Saturday, the chapel was not only stripped, but darkened; the light admitted only through the side windows; and the high altar stripped of all ornament, thrown into deep shadow, and its exquisite screen concealed, had an air of peculiar desolation. Throughout the wide bounds of the college, swarming with inhabitants, the stillness was remarkable; no bell or sound of joy was heard; the boys were in retreat, and

even during the intervals of relaxation, seemed penetrated with the spirit of the time. During those days of fasting and prayer, the chapel and the awful mysteries which were there being represented, seemed to absorb the thoughts of all. But now the great mystery of redemption was accomplished; the Church invited all to the anticipation of her joy; the *Gloria in excelsis* was once more heard; and in an instant the altar appeared clothed with white, its ornaments were discovered, the screens fell from the windows, and the morning sun streamed through the painted glass, upon a scene of light and brilliancy: at that moment, while the choir responded to the pealing organ, the bells of the college sent the tidings of gladness over the silent fields. It seemed difficult to surpass all this; but the full magnificence of the college was reserved till Easter Sunday. Then the sanctuary was adorned with tapestry and carpets; a throne of superb velvet was prepared for the venerable bishop; the paschal column with its gilded candlestick, reached nearly to the roof of the chapel; a blaze of light surrounded the high altar; and the priests in the sanctuary, attending on the altar, wearing the richest vestments, and preceded by the young acolytes, formed a procession of upwards of forty persons. The effect of these processions is most striking. On Palm Sunday, when the priests in their vestments, and their attendants bearing lights, and branches of the real palm, and preceded by the scholars in their surplices, formed a procession of nearly two hundred persons, defiling through the long gothic corridors, the imagination was indeed carried back to the ages of faith. It is impossible not to consider the effect of all these elevating scenes upon the minds of the scholars, surrounded by sights and sounds of holy beauty; beholding their religion under so impressive an aspect; trained from their infancy to glory and rejoice in it; to *feel*, in the words of the excellent President of the college, "that it should be the *primum mobile* of their existence;" can they, in after life, forget its precepts? if so, their parents may seek solace in the reflection, that they have done their part, and that before the angels of those little ones, they are guiltless. To this religious and moral training, let us add such a secular education, as may enable them, hereafter, not only to love their religion, but to adorn and to defend it. Let us enrich these sanctuaries of our Church, from whence we shall receive such incalculable benefits; let us afford to our pastors, so austere and self-denying to themselves, the only luxury they prize, the power to embellish and illustrate the service of

the Church. We conclude with the words of a reverend prelate,—who has devoted so much energy and time to building a magnificent college, in a diocese where there was none before; and is now waiting till our exertions shall turn his long anxiety into joy, and give stability to a work, for which Catholics in all times must cherish his memory.

"Arise, then, restore his fallen temples, erect his demolished altars, load them with holocausts, and surround them with priests; prepare a joyful feast, and crowd your table with grateful guests. In other words, educate priests, build churches; provide space where the poor may adore, the ignorant be instructed, and the erring converted."—*Sermon*, p. 14.

ART. X.—"*Homeward Bound:*" *A Tale of the Sea.* By J. Fenimore Cooper, Esq., Author of "The Pilot," "The Spy," &c. London: 1838.

2. *Eve Effingham, or Home.* By the author of "Homeward Bound," &c. &c. London: 1839.

AFTER a somewhat protracted interval of silence, Mr. Cooper again appears before the public in the character that suits him best, that of a novelist. His *Excursions in Italy*, *Recollections of Europe*, &c. have not done much to increase his literary fame, and there was an impatience beginning to be manifested at his having so long abandoned the regions of fiction and romance, in which he has proved himself so powerful a magician. To this impatience, he has at length responded, with two novels within six months of each other; connected in the story, but of widely different character. The one is, as its title-page announces, a *Tale of the Sea;* a class in which Mr. Cooper is so much at home, and for which we were going to say, his genius has its particular bent. But ere the words were written, the remembrance of *The Spy*, *The Last of the Mohicans*, *The Prairie*, *The Borderers*, came seasonably to check our pen; not to speak of their equal, if not their superior, in splendour of genius, depth of interest, and skilful management of story,—*The Bravo*,—his first and sole entirely successful attempt among the scenes and traditions of the European continent. The second is intended as a delineation of American manners and customs, and, but for its being such,—coming from the hand not of a prejudiced foreigner, like Captain Basil Hall, or one who adds coarseness of mind to prejudice, like Mrs. Trollope, but of a native American, and of one too who has shown in

former works such eager and laudable jealousy of his country's honour,—it possesses but little interest. As a novel, it is heavy and tedious; especially after the somewhat nervous suspense, in which the abrupt termination of "Homeward Bound" leaves us, as to the ultimate denouement of its story, is quieted, lamely and impotently enough, by long-winded explanations in the second volume of *Eve Effingham.*

The judgment of the public upon these works has been as different as their respective merits. The appearance of the first was most cordially hailed, and a meed of applause conceded to it in no measure inferior to that so justly the due of his other graphic and spirit-stirring sea narrations. The other, on the contrary, has raised a loud and angry outcry against him. In its pages, he certainly has not too much spared his own country; he has not hesitated to expose to the vigilant and eager criticism of the old world, the faults and follies, mistakes and vices, that are so rife in the new; yet, this he has done in a manner certainly not *more* offensive, although perhaps more completely, than have the crowd of English writers upon America. So far is he from exaggeration, that he has left wholly untouched the monster sin of the Americans—their conduct towards the people of colour—the red man and the black: the Indian, defrauded or openly plundered of his lands and possessions, and driven an outcast to the far West; and the hapless negro, deprived of his most sacred right, the possession of himself; or, if mocked with the name of freedom, degraded and enslaved still, in spirit, by the contempt and insult he is met with at every turn, and which is most foully connived at by the State. However, this cautious abstinence and discreet reservation on the part of Mr. Cooper, have by no means proved the propitiatory offering he no doubt intended them to be, to the hurt feelings of his fellow-countrymen. They denounce him with a vehemence and a fury which go far to prove that he must have spoken much truth, and revealed to the world matters that they consider he should rather have aided in keeping concealed. Unquestionably, however, they have some reason in their attack upon him. It is not the most creditable or amiable point of view in the world for a man to present himself in—that of the satirist of the world that gave him birth. The pretext of assuming so ungracious a position solely with a view to open the eyes of his countrymen, and lead them to better things, will scarcely hold water. Such professions can rarely deceive; the temptation and opportunity to indulge in remark and sarcasm at

the expense of those among whom we live,—against whom we have a thousand little personal piques that poor human nature longs to gratify, have almost always far more to do with these *exposés*, than real sound true-hearted patriotism. We fear Mr. Cooper must be considered peculiarly obnoxious to this charge. There is a frequent virulence in the remarks that he puts into the mouths of his characters, or makes in his own proper person, upon the social state of his country, that would be most unwise, were his purpose really no more than friendly correction. The commonest remembrance of our schoolboy days, is of the inefficacy of rebuke, when coupled with insult to self-love. So accompanied, it was directly attributed to other motives than solicitude for our well-doing; while the reproof administered with consideration and gentleness, carried its point at once. "Men are but children of a larger growth," says the old dictum, and in nothing is it more verified than in the effects, on boy and man, of offence against our sacred *amour propre*. Knowing this, and in addition, knowing how peculiarly sensitive and thin-skinned his countrymen have shown themselves whenever they have found themselves "in print," Mr. Cooper, were his purpose *honest*, should have chastised more mildly; or, did he deem that caustic severity was indispensable, should have rather directed it against the monster outrages we have before noted, upon justice and humanity, than against foibles and faults of minor degree.

The countrymen of our author may, we think, be considered in some measure justified in their displeasure at his pictures of their manners and ways of thinking. But it is not a little amusing to find them joined in their reprehension of his conduct by a majority of the English periodical writers; of those writers who have so unceasingly put forth, and encouraged, the expression of opinions inveterately hostile to the United States and its citizens. It would seem as if English writers, and, above all, the English press, claimed a monopoly of abuse and satire upon those whom, in the midst of their most violent philippics against America and all things American, they kindly denominate their transatlantic *brethren;* and that they look upon Mr. Cooper, in this instance, as an intruder upon their especial province. We question if the most excited of the journalists and reviewers, of the most excitable portion of the American community, have been more unsparingly severe upon him, on this occasion, than have those of England.

In the two novels before us, our author has, as in some of his others, executed an idea nearly altogether his own;

namely, that of connecting them with each other, by means of the same characters in each. Between *Homeward Bound* and *Eve Effingham* the connexion is by far the strongest; all the leading persons of the *dramatis personæ* being the same,—the latter novel, in fact, being avowedly a sequel to the former. In other instances, the connexion was established by describing the different fortunes, at different times, of the same individual; as in the case of our old friend Natty Bumpo, the "scout," in the *Last of the Mohicans;* the "hunter," in the *Pioneers;* and the "trapper," in the *Prairie.* Another connexion may be said to exist between the first and last-named of these novels; but in a very remote degree,—the hero of the *Prairie*, Duncan Uncas Heyward Middleton, being made a descendant of Duncan Heyward, the hero of the other. Between the *Pioneers* and the books before us there is also a link of connexion; the family of the Effinghams playing a conspicuous part in both, and the scene in America being the same. The substance of the six goodly volumes we are about to examine, was intended to have been compressed in three; but, as Mr. Cooper informs us in his preface, the friends whom he consulted no sooner found, from his first chapter, that he had got once more *afloat*, than they insisted on his continuing so throughout the legitimate number of three volumes; not allowing him, until the end of the third, to land his characters, to enter upon their American adventures, the description of which had been his primary object when he took up his pen. We think much gratitude is owing to his advisers, for this exercise of their influence: one more admirable "tale of the sea" has been added to the list of those which have so delighted, and so powerfully interested, his readers. With its conclusion, as we have said, begin the *American* adventures of the chief characters in it; and to these the succeeding three volumes are dedicated.

Homeward Bound commences with the departure from England, on her homeward voyage, as the title of the book indicates, of one of the splendid packet ships which, for several years, have plied between America and the mother-country. Being one of the London "liners,"—a designation it is hardly necessary to explain,—she starts, of course, from London river; and, at the period when the story opens, is at anchor at Spithead, waiting for the bulk of her passengers, who, according to a common practice, were to join her there. There have, however, come round in her, from London, four, who are destined to be chief actors in the work; viz. Mr. Effingham,

an American gentleman of fortune, and his daughter, Eve; his cousin, John Effingham (constantly addressed throughout the book by the not very elegant appellation of "Cousin Jack"); and a Parisian lady, in a situation something between that of governess and companion to Miss Effingham. Of the father, little peculiarly characteristic is said; he is described generally as mild, benevolent, enlightened, and affectionate;—not so, however, the cousin. John Effingham is represented not only as possessing at least the three latter qualities, but, in addition, a vein of satire, and a power of sarcasm, such as few possess; in the exhibition of which he was wont freely to indulge,—impelled to do so, Mr. Cooper informs us, by the consciousness of his own superiority over the generality of mankind. We had thought that such a consciousness ought rather to beget indulgence for others, and that satire and sarcasm were the ordinary resorts of minds of inferior degree, seeking to cover their littleness. A somewhat better reason, or excuse, for this sourness on the part of one whom, some some say, our author drew for himself, is, his being represented as yet labouring under the effects of domestic disappointment and calamity. Eve Effingham is but another specimen of the stiff, forced, uninteresting creations, which, with some beautiful exceptions, Mr. Cooper's female characters generally are. Her sprightliness is of the deadly-lively sort; her "archness" and "wit" savour strongly of pertness; and on all occasions where emotion might be displayed, she is so cold, correct, and proper, that we despair of her. Mlle. Viefville is merely an outline sketch of a Parisian at a certain age.

The ship is now boarded by two gentlemen, bearing the rather quaint *noms de guerre* of Mr. Sharp and Mr. Blunt, but destined to act important parts in the subsequent history. Then follows an American newspaper editor, demagogue, &c., boasting the unaristocratic name of Dodge, and on his return from what he himself calls a "tower through Europe." These, with Captain Truck, the master of the vessel,—an admirably drawn character,—form the *état major* of the two novels. There are, however, several additional characters, among whom the most important are, a foolish young man, styling himself Sir George Templemore; and an inimitable portraiture of the English commercial traveller (as the Americans pithily designate them, "bagmen"), in the person of Mr. Monday. A crowd of fore-cabin passengers also come on board,—only one of whom, however, obtains even temporary notice; as a limb of the law, aided by a bailiff, comes off

in search of him, at the instigation of a fraudulent relative on shore. The poor man's case excites general sympathy on board, in which the good-natured master of the vessel participates, in a degree fully equal to his horror of "an attorney;" and the departure of the vessel is accelerated, in order to prevent the chance of being boarded by some one who might recognise and point out to the bailiff his victim. An interesting and graphic scene follows, during which the packet is fruitlessly chased by a man of war's boat, and succeeds in getting so far from the land, that the legal functionaries have to give up their vain search, under the fear of being carried to America, should they delay longer. They accordingly take to their boat, and all is joy on the decks of the packet at the escape of the poor fellow who was thus threatened,—when anxieties are again awakened by the sight of a sloop of war getting under weigh, apparently with the intention of giving chase.

Then follows the description of an animated chase at sea, during several successive days. The packet, like most of the fine ships sailing from American ports, is a fast sailer, although not quite equal, when "on a wind," to the lighter equipped sloop of war. This superiority of the latter renders it necessary, in order to prevent capture, to put away before the wind, the "Montauk's" best point of sailing. Independent of the general wish to save the poor fore-cabin passenger from the hands of the law, should any of the law's myrmidons be aboard the man of war, Captain Truck has another reason for wishing to avoid being come up with. A single pound of tobacco, smuggled into England by one of the crew, would involve the vessel in serious difficulties, and cause her to be brought back to England,—should it turn out, as seemed probable, that such an offence had been committed,—and its punishment entrusted to their pursuer. Influenced by these fears, and unable to cope with the sloop of war on a bowline, Captain Truck has no resource but in running away to the southward before the wind, trusting to the trade winds, in the low latitudes he is approaching, to help him to recover some of the lost time, when his pursuer shall have given up the chase. During its progress we have several well-drawn scenes in the cabin, in which the characters of the different personages are well brought out. Mr. Dodge, insolently familiar, where allowed—servilely respectful to the *soi-disant* Sir George Templemore—full of loud declamations about liberty, yet all his ideas narrowed and constrained by his respect for "a ma-

jority," which on every occasion he deems should trample upon individual freedom. Mr. Monday is well described:—the good-humoured, sensual, narrow-minded, self-satisfied being, that we have a thousand times met in coach or packet-boat, caring for no one but self; and with one fixed set of ideas, from which human power could not change him. The over-worked steward of the packet, and his luckless subordinate, are also well brought in, and brought *out*,—although, perhaps, we have a little too much of the conferences of these worthies. The dialogues in which the principal characters take share, are, so far as *they* are concerned, tedious, and a good deal of what is generally known by the term "*on stilts*."

The chase is continued, until both vessels, driven by a gale of wind, are rapidly nearing the coast of Africa. The packet-ship is now, at length, overtaken; and the description of the occurrence is, we think, one of the most *life-like* pictures that even our author, great as his powers are known to be, has ever drawn. Early in the morning, a cry is heard on deck, and all the passengers hurry up as fast as possible:—

"The gale continued, if anything, with increased power; the ocean was rolling over its cataracts of combing seas, with which the ship was still racing, driven under the strain of a reefed forecourse, the only canvass that was set. Even with this little sail, the hull was glancing through the raging seas, or rather in their company, at a rate little short of ten miles in the hour.

"Captain Truck was in the mizen rigging, bare-headed; every lock of hair he had blowing out like a pendant. Occasionally, he signed to the man at the wheel which way to put the helm; for, instead of sleeping, as many had supposed, he had been conning the ship for hours in the same situation. As Eve appeared, he was directing the attention of several of the gentlemen to some object astern; but a very few moments put all on deck in possession of the facts.

"About a cable's length, on one of the quarters of the Montauk, was a ship careering before the gale like themselves, though carrying more canvass, and, consequently, driving faster through the water. The sudden appearance of this vessel in the sombre light of the morning, when objects were seen distinctly, but without the glare of day; the dark hull relieved by a single narrow line of white paint dotted with ports; the glossy hammock-cloths, and all those other coverings of dark glistening canvass, which give to a cruiser an air of finish and comfort, like that of a travelling carriage; the symmetry of the spars, and the gracefulness of all the lines, whether of the hull, or hamper, told all who knew anything of such subjects. that the stranger was a vessel of war. To this information, Captain Truck added, that it was their old pursuer, the Foam.

"'She is corvette-built,' said the master of the Montauk, 'and is obliged to carry more canvass than we, in order to keep out of the way of the seas; for, if one of these big fellows should overtake her, and throw its crest into her waist, she would become like a man who has taken too much Saturday night, and with whom a second dose might settle the purser's books for ever.'"

"Such, in fact, was the history of the sudden appearance of this ship. She had lain to as long as possible, and, on being driven to scud, carried a close-reefed maintop sail; a show of canvass that urged her through the water about two knots to the hour faster than the rate of the packet. Necessarily following the same course, she overtook the latter just as the day began to dawn. The cry had arisen on her sudden discovery, and the moment had now arrived when she was about to come up quite abreast of her late chase. The passage of the Foam, under such circumstances, was a grand, but thrilling thing. Her captain also was seen in the mizen rigging of his ship, rocked by the gigantic billows over which the fabric was careering. He held a speaking trumpet in his hand, as if still bent on his duty, amid the awful warring of the elements. Captain Truck called for a trumpet in his turn, and, fearful of consequences, he waved it to the other to keep more aloof. The injunction was either misunderstood, the man-of-war's man was too much bent on his object, or the sea was too uncontrollable for such a purpose, the corvette driving up on a sea quite abeam of the packet, and in fearful proximity. The Englishman applied the trumpet, and words were heard amid the roaring of the winds. At that time, the white field of old Albion, with the St. George's cross, rose over the bulwarks, and by the time it had reached the gaff end, the bunting was whipping in ribbons.

"'Show 'em the gridiron,' growled Captain Truck, through his trumpet, with its mouth turned inboard.

"As everything was ready, this order was instantly obeyed, and the stripes of America were soon seen fluttering nearly in separate pieces. The two ships now ran a short distance in parallel lines, rolling from each other so heavily, that the bright copper of the corvette was seen nearly to her keel. The Englishman, who seemed a portion of his ship, again tried his trumpet; the detached words of 'lie by'—'orders'—'communicate,' were caught by one or two, but the howling of the gale rendered connexion in the meaning impossible. The ships were now rolling to, and it appeared as if they would interlock their spars. There was an instant when Mr. Leach had his hand on the main-brace, to let it go; but the Foam started away on a sea, like a horse that feels the spur, and disobeying her helm, shot forward as if about to cross the Montauk's fore-foot.

A breathless instant followed, for all on board the two ships thought they must now inevitably come foul of each other; and this the more so, because the Montauk took the impulse of the sea just as it was lost to the Foam, and seemed on the point of plunging di-

rectly into the stern of the latter. Even the seamen clenched the ropes around them convulsively, and the boldest held their breaths for a time. The '*P-o-r-t—hard-a-port, and be d—d to you,*' of Captain Truck, and the "*S-t-a-r-b-o-a-r-d, starboard hard,*' of the Englishman, were both distinctly audible in the two ships, for this was a moment when seamen can speak louder than the tempest.

The affrighted vessels seemed to recede together, and then they shot asunder in diverging lines, the Foam leading. All farther attempts at communication were instantly useless, the corvette being half a mile a-head in a quarter of an hour, rolling her yard-arms nearly to the water."—vol. ii. pp. 18-24.

By sunset, the corvette has disappeared altogether, and no more is heard of her for some time. The gale at length breaks; but when its steadying power is lost, the Montauk, tumbling about in the heavy sea that remains, rolls away her masts, all but what is little better than a stump of a foremast. Being now in what Captain Truck (to use a phrase which is put continually in his mouth) calls a "category," the offer is made to all the passengers to tranship themselves on board an American store-ship, fallen in with on its return-voyage from the Mediterranean. The fore-cabin passengers eagerly avail themselves of this, while those aft determine to remain with the vessel, trusting to Captain Truck's conduct, and his assurances, that they must speedily meet with trade-winds, that will give them a fair passage across the Atlantic, even in their present dismantled state. In a day or two, however, what with the indraught on the land, and the small and defective show of canvass they are able to set, they fall in with the N.W. coast of Africa, and are driven to seek a temporary anchorage among reefs that promise some protection against the full force of the waves, should another gale spring up. The description of the wild, bare, sandy coast, and their visit in boats to a stranded and half-plundered vessel, whose crew had evidently been carried off into captivity, by some of the wild hordes of Arabs that are wont to prowl along the coast, after a tempest, prompt to plunder and murder the shipwrecked mariner, is full of interest; but we must refer our readers for it to the book, and turn to an extract which will introduce to their notice the modest-minded Mr. Dodge. The ship is now, as far as possible, safely moored, to the honest captain's great ease and satisfaction:—

"'Now,' cried the captain, all his anxiety ceasing with the responsibility, 'I expect to be made a member of the New York Philosophical Society, for discovering a port on the coast of Africa; which harbour I hope to be permitted to call Port Truck. If Mr. Dodge, however, should think this too anti-republican, we'll com-

promise the matter and call it Port Truck and Dodge; or, the town that will sooner or later arise on its banks, may be called Dodgeborough, and I will keep the harbour to myself.'

"'Should Mr. Dodge consent, he will render himself liable to the charge of aristocracy,' said Mr. Sharp; for, as all felt relieved by being in a place of security, so all felt disposed to join in the pleasantry; 'I dare say his modesty would prevent his consenting to the plan.'

"'Why, gentlemen,' returned the subject of these remarks, 'I do not know that we are to refuse honours fairly imposed by the popular voice; and the practice of naming towns and counties after distinguished citizens, is by no means uncommon with us. A few of my own neighbours have honoured me in this way already, and my paper is issued from a hamlet that certainly does bear my unworthy name. So there will be no novelty in the appellation.'

"'I could have made oath to it, from your well-established humility. Is the place as large as London?'

"'It can boast little more than my own office, a tavern, a store and blacksmith's shop, as yet; but Rome was not built in a day..... The name is not absolutely decided..... At first, it was called Dodgetown, but this was thought vulgar, and common-place. Six or eight weeks afterwards, we'—

"'We, Mr. Dodge?'

"'I mean the people, sir. I am so much accustomed to connect myself with the people, that whatever they do, I think I have a hand in..... We, the people, six or eight weeks afterwards, altered the name to Dodgeborough; but a new family coming in that summer, a party was got up to change it to Dodgeville, a name that was immensely popular, as ville means city in Latin; but it must be owned, the people like change or rotation in names, as well as in office, and they called the place Butterfield Hollow, for a whole month, after the new inhabitant, whose name is Butterfield. He moved away in the fall; and so, after trying Belindy (Anglice Belinda), Nineveh, Grand Cairo, and Pumpkin Valley, they made me an offer to restore the ancient name, provided some addendum more noble and proper than town, ville, or borough, could be found. It is not yet determined what it shall be, but I believe we shall finally settle down in Dodgeople, or Dodgeopolis. There are a few discontented and arrogant innovators, who affect to call the place by the name of Morton; but these are the mere vassals of a man who once owned the patent, and who now has been dead these forty years. We are not the people to keep his old musty name, or honour dry bones.'" &c. &c. —vol. ii. pp. 157-161.

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"Ultra as a democrat and American, Mr. Dodge had a sneaking predilection for foreign opinions. Although practice had made him intimately acquainted with all the frauds, deceptions, and lies, of the ordinary arts of paragraph-making, he never failed to believe reli-

giously in the veracity, judgment, and talents, of anything imported in the form of types. He had been weekly, for years, accusing his nearest brother of the craft, of lying; and he could not be altogether ignorant of his own propensity in the same way; but notwithstanding experience, all that reached him from a European journal, was implicitly swallowed...... As was due to his colonial origin, his secret awe and reverence for an Englishman, was exactly in proportion to his protestations of love for the people; and his deference for rank was graduated on a scale suited to the heart-burnings and jealousies he entertained for all whom he felt to be his superiors."—vol. ii. pp. 162-163.

Captain Truck's determination is now announced to the crew and passengers. During his short visit to the wrecked vessel, he has perceived that her masts and rigging are entire, and in good condition; and he purposes taking them to refit his own vessel. With this view, he mans two boats, with every disposable person on board, leaving only the females, under the protection of the Messrs. Effingham, Sharp, and Blunt, and the steward, in the capacity of cook. Even Mr. Dodge is taken; though much is not expected from his valour, should the Arabs attack the party. He is brought solely to swell the numbers. The small quantity of arms and ammunition aboard is also taken, excepting a light signal-gun, which is left loaded, that those who remain in the vessel may give notice, by firing it, should the Arabs attack them, instead of the larger party gone to the wreck. The distance between the places where the two vessels lie, is about four leagues, with an intervening headland, which soon shuts the two parties from the view of each other.

The few left in the Montauk, after overcoming the first sense of loneliness, pass the remaining hours of day in tranquil conversation; and, early in the night, retire to rest, leaving Mr. Blunt to keep watch. He is relieved by Mr. Sharp; but has not long resigned himself to rest, when the latter summons him to the deck, with the fearful tidings, that the Arabs have made their appearance, and are out on the reef, seeking means to board the defenceless vessel.

"'Do you see the pointed rock, a little to the right of the spot where the kedge is placed? It is now naked, and yet, I am quite certain there was an object upon it, when I went below for you.'

"'It may have been a sea-bird, for we are so near the day, some of them are probably in motion. Was it large?'

"'The size of a man's head; but this is by no means all. Here, farther to the north, I distinguished three objects in motion, wading near the point where the rocks are never bare.'

"'They may have been herons; the bird is often found in these low latitudes, I believe. I can discover nothing.'

"'Would to God I may have been mistaken, though I do not think I could be so much deceived.'

"Paul Blunt caught his arm, and held it like one who listens intently.

"'Heard you that?' he whispered hurriedly.

"'It sounded like the clanking of iron.'

"Looking around, the other found a handspike; and passing swiftly up the heel of the bowsprit, he stood between the night-heads. Here he bent forward, and looked intently towards the lines of chains which lay over the bulwarks as bowfasts. Of these chains, the parts led quite near each other in parallel lines, and, as the ship's moorings were taut, they were hanging in merely a slight curve. From the rocks, or the place where the kedges were laid, to a point within thirty feet of the ship, these chains were dotted with living beings, crawling cautiously upward. It was even easy, at a second look, to perceive that they were men, stealthily advancing on their hands and feet. Raising the handspike, Mr. Blunt struck the chains several violent blows. The effect was to cause the whole of the Arabs—for it could be no others—suddenly to cease advancing, and to seat themselves astride on the chains.

"'This is fearful,' said Mr. Sharp; 'but we must die, rather than permit them to reach the ship.'

"'We must. Stand you here, and if they advance, strike the chains. There is not an instant to lose.'

"Paul Blunt spoke hurriedly, and, giving the other the hand-spike, he ran down to the bitts and commenced loosing the chains from their fastenings. The Arabs heard the clanking of the iron rings, as he threw coil after coil on the deck, and they did not advance. Presently two parts yielded beneath them, and then two more. This was the signal of a common retreat, and Mr. Sharp plainly counted fifteen human forms, as they scrambled back towards the reef; some hanging by their arms, some half in the water, and others lying along the chains, as best they might. Mr. Blunt, having loosed the chains, so as to let their lights drop in the sea, the ship slowly drifted astern and rode by her cables. When this was done, the two young men stood together in silence on the forecastle, as if each felt that all which had just occurred was some illusion.

"'This is indeed terrible,' exclaimed Paul Blunt, 'we have not even a pistol left! no means of defence,—nothing but this narrow belt of water between us and these barbarians! no doubt, too, they have fire-arms; and as soon as it is light, they will render it unsafe even to remain on deck.'"—vol. ii. pp. 290-3.

It is in depicting such moments of fearful suspense, and mortal peril, that Mr. Cooper excels. Who can forget, that has once read those thrilling scenes in his other novels, where

danger, imminent and deadly, surrounds his characters; all escape seemingly hopeless, and each circumstance of horror so put before the imagination, that the reader's breath comes short, and the blood runs cold to his heart, with participation in all the agonizing anxieties of those whose perilous adventures are before him? What scenes of deep and most powerful interest are those of the beleagured party in the cavern of the Falls, in the *Last of the Mohicans!*—the abandoned and helpless group cowering in the long boat of the Royal Caroline, in the *Red Rover*, as they wait the slow sinking of the deserted ship beneath them, to know if their frail bark will float clear when the vessel goes down into the depths of the gloomy ocean around; or, if they are to be swallowed up in the vortex—the defeated, but determined *Borderers*, driven into their little citadel, girt round with triumphant and merciless enemies; and marking the sure approach of a still more terrible enemy—the devouring fire, that already has begun to attack the huge blocks of wood forming the walls of their last frail refuge—the party drifting far out into the ocean, on the ill-fastened spars of the *Coquette*, and signalling in vain to the French frigate to rescue them from inevitable fate, while they see her changing her course, and standing off from them, apparently giving up farther search as useless. We had almost omitted the condemnation to death, and narrow and unhoped for escape, of the English officer, in *The Spy;* and the terrible doom that seems inevitably to have circled round Miss Temple, when the woods on the mountain are on fire, in the novel of *The Pioneers.*

In all these instances, the different plans and means by which destruction is warded off, display considerable invention and ingenuity on the part of Mr. Cooper; and in very few cases, are marked by any improbability that is not most pardonable. How the perils that beset the Effinghams, and their few companions, aboard the deserted Montauk,—perils that, as was expected, increase greatly with the coming of day,—how they are finally escaped, the reader must discover from the book; as we do not wish to weaken the breathless interest the perusal will occasion Escaped, however, they are, as might be expected, though not without having to abandon the vessel to the Arabs; and after a thousand dangers, they make their way to sea, in the heavy launch of the packet, under the guidance of Mr. Blunt (or Powis, as his real name turns out to be), who is discovered to be familiar with sea matters. Off the headland already mentioned, the fugitives

fall in with the other boats, on their return from the wreck, with the spars that they went for, in tow. They had been got with some difficulty indeed, but, most unexpectedly, without any opposition on the part of the Arabs, although the latter had been down in crowds to witness the removal. As this is a good opportunity to bring out the old captain, we will extract part of the scene that follows.

"The party just arrived alone felt joy. They found those whom they believed dead, or captives, whereas, the others now learned the extent of misfortune that had befallen them. Captain Truck listened to Paul like one in a trance, and it was some time after the young man had done before he spoke. . . . He got on the roof of his own launch, and paced backwards and forwards rapidly, heeding nothing. . At length he stopped suddenly and called for his mate—'Mr. Leach!'

"'Sir.'

"'Here is a *category* for you!'

"'Aye, aye, sir, bad enough, still we're better off than the people of the wreck.'

"'We might have spared ourselves the trouble, Leach, of culling these cursed spars. . . I am glad you are safe, Mr. Effingham, and you, too, my dear young lady; God bless you, God bless you,—it were better the whole line should be in their power than one like you!'

"The old seaman's eyes filled as he shook Eve by the hand, and for a moment he forgot the ship.

"'Mr. Leach, we are likely to have a busy morning,—lift the kedge, and let us drop down towards these gentry. We have both wind and current with us now, and shall make quick work.'

"The kedge was raised, sails set, and with the two launches lashed together, the whole line of boats and spars began to set to the southward at a rate that would bring them up with the inlet in about two hours. . . . .

"'Splice the mainbrace, Mr. Leach,' said the captain; 'and you, gentlemen, do me the favour to step this way for a consultation. This much is due to your situation. Gentlemen, everything in this world has its nature and its principles. . The nature of a traveller is to travel, and see curiosities; of old men to think on the past and young men to hope for the future. The nature of a seaman is to stick by his ship, and a ship to be treated like a vessel, and not ransacked like a town taken by storm. You are but passengers, and your wishes beyond question are to be safe in New York: mine are to get the Montauk there too, in as little time as possible. You have a good navigator among you; and I now propose you take the Montauk's launch, and fill away for the Cape de Verdes, where I pray God you all arrive in safety. Your effects shall be safely delivered to your respective orders, should it please God to put it in the power of the line to honour your drafts.'

"'You intend to attempt recapturing the ship,' said Paul Blunt.

"'I do, sir,' returned Mr. Truck, who having thus opened his mind, for the first time that morning, gave a vigorous Hem! and set about lighting a cigar. . . . .

"'We must join you in this, captain,' said Mr. Sharp, quietly, 'but with the air and manner of a man of spirit and nerve.'

"'Certainly, certainly,' cried Mr. Monday, 'we ought to make it a common affair; as, I daresay Sir George Templemore will agree with me in maintaining, the nobility and gentry are not often backward when their persons are to be risked.'

"The spurious baronet acquiesced readily, for though a vain and weak young man, he was far from being a dastard.

"'This is a serious business,' observed Paul, 'and it ought to be ordered with method and intelligence. If we have a ship to care for, we have also those who are infinitely more precious. . . . The launch ought to be left at a safe distance with all the females, as any disaster to the boarding-party would probably throw the rest of the boats into the barbarians' hands. Mr. Effingham and Mr. John Effingham, will, of course, remain with the ladies.'

"The father assented with the simplicity of one who did not distrust his own motives, but the eagle-shaped features of his kinsman, curled with a cool and sarcastic smile.

"'Will *you* remain?' he asked pointedly of Paul.

"'Certainly, it would be greatly out of character were I not to do so. My trade is war; and I trust, Captain Truck means to honour me with the command of one of the boats.'

"'I thought as much, by Jove!' exclaimed the Captain; 'I should as soon expect to see the sheet anchor wink, or the best bower give a mournful smile, as to see you duck. Still, gentlemen, I am well aware of the difference in our situations. I fancy, my regular people, aided by Mr. Blunt, who can really serve me by his knowledge, will be as likely to do all that can be done.' . . . .

"'But the question has not yet been put to the *people*,' said Dodge, mystified by the last term, which he had yet to learn was strictly technical as applied to a ship's crew.

"'It shall, sir, and I beg you will note the majority. My lads, now the Arabs have the ship, they do not know how to sail her, and it is no more than a kindness to take her out of their hands;—for this, I want volunteers—those who are for the reef and an attack, will rise up and cheer; while they who like an offing, have only to sit still.'

"The words were no sooner spoken, than the mate, Mr. Leach, jumped on the gunnel and waved his hat. The people rose as one man, and taking the signal from him, gave three as hearty cheers as ever rung over the bottle.

"'Dead against you, sir!' observed the captain, 'and I hope you are now satisfied.'

"'The ballot might have given it otherwise,' muttered Mr. Dodge, 'there can be no freedom of election without the ballot.'

"No one however thought any longer of Mr. Dodge or his scruples, and the dispositions for attack were promptly made."—vol. iii. pp. 87-90.

The attempt is made accordingly; and, after a little hard fighting, succeeds; not, however, until Mr. Monday, who has borne himself gallantly through the fray, receives a wound that threatens to be mortal.

A day then passes in preparations for sea. The vessel is once more got afloat, having been grounded by Powis, as a necessary measure, while effecting the escape of his party and himself in her launch; the masts are stepped—yards crossed—and, finally, sail enough set to bring her out from the dangerous neighbourhood of the Arabs, into the open sea, where the rest of her equipment can be finished at leisure. This latter manœuvre is not, however, accomplished without additional loss; as the men who go aloft to secure the necessary ropes, are exposed to the fire of the infuriated Arabs. The man at the wheel, too, is shot, just as the ship has reached the most dangerous part of the inlet; and she narrowly escapes total and hopeless wreck, in the very moment when safety seems within grasp.

There is not much delay in detailing the prosperous remainder of the voyage to New York, save where the death of Mr. Monday is described. The perplexity of the honest captain, when, as commander of the ship, he deems it his duty to seek to administer religious consolation to the dying man, is humorously described; though the smile it would occasion, is checked by the sad evidence it gives of the darksome and benighted state of mind in which multitudes of our fellow-beings are, on the subject of man's eternal interests, in consequence of the apostacy of their fathers from the Catholic Church,—from that Church that *provides* an unerring guide for the feeblest intellect, as for the strongest; for the individual begirt and distracted by a thousand worldly cares, as for him who has sought refuge from all these cares in the voluntary abandonment of all earthly possessions, and taken refuge in the quiet of a monastic cell.

After some attempt in his new vocation, the captain gladly resigns the task of attending the parting spirit, to Mr. John Effingham, as a person peculiarly fitted for the pious office. Mr. Cooper thus describes his qualifications:—

"John Effingham was often proud and self-willed in his communications with men; the inferiority of most of his fellow-creatures to himself, in principles as well as mind, being too plainly apparent not

to influence the opinions of one who did not habitually study his own failings; but, as respects God, he was habitually reverent and meek: spiritual pride formed no part of his character, for he felt his own deficiency in the Christian qualities; the main defect arising more from a habit of regarding the infirmities of others, than from dwelling too much on his own merits. In comparing himself with perfection, no one could be more humble; but, in limiting the comparison to those around him, few were prouder, or few more justly so, were it permited to make such a comparison at all. Prayer with him was not habitual or always well ordered, but he was not ashamed to pray," &c. &c.—vol. iii. p. 230.

This specimen of the humble pious Christian, accordingly waits by Mr. Monday's bed-side, till the last hour comes. The death of the hard, sensual, worldly-minded man, is described with painful minuteness; and the unpleasant feeling is increased by the sad reflection, of how many pass out of this world as unprepared for the terrible change, and with as broken a reed to lean upon, as the spiritual consolations of Mr. John Effingham.

The vessel makes America at last, and is steering gladly towards her port, now in sight, when, to the consternation and anger of the worthy captain, the "eternal Foam!" as he styles the corvette that had chased him, is discovered hove to, right in the track of the Montauk. A sudden and ill-advised change of course, reveals to the man-of-war the approach of her late chase, notwithstanding the difference of appearance caused by her being fitted with the spars and rigging of a vessel two hundred tons smaller. The chase is renewed, and, in the end, the Montauk, hard pressed, comes to, close to the American shore; so placed by her captain, in order to leave no doubt that she is in American waters, and, therefore, secure from violence. The corvette's commander, Captain Ducie, boards; and, although acknowledging the rights of her position, requests leave to take from her a criminal, in search of whom he has been dispatched. This turns out to be no other than the self-styled baronet, whose real name is Sandon, and who is accused of having carried off a large sum of government money. Mr. Green, a government *employé*, who has come out in the sloop in order to identify the fugitive, is an admirable specimen of his class in England; and the conference between him and the captain is well described.

"Mr. Green was as thorough-going an Englishman as any of his class in the island. Methodical, plodding, industrious, and regular in all his habits, he was honest by rule, and had no leisure or inclination for other opinions than those obtained with the smallest effort..

His hatred of France was unconquerable, as he had early learned to consider her the fast enemy of England; and America he deemed the general asylum for the rogues of his own country.

"'We have our share of bad men, sir,' said he to Captain Truck; 'but the thing that has most attracted attention is, that they all go to America.'

"'And we receive our share of rogues, sir; and it is the subject of remark, that they all come from England.'

"Mr. Green did not feel the full force of this retort; but he wiped his spectacles, as he quietly composed his features into a look of dignified gravity.

"'Your most considerable men in America, I believe, sir, have been Englishmen, who preferred a residence in the colonies, to a residence at home. There was your Washington; my father was at school with him in Warwickshire, and he was thought anything but clever.'

"'You perceive, then, we made something of him when we got him back... Judging from the language of your prints, sir, I should think your King William enjoys the reputation of being a respectable man?'

"Although startled to hear his sovereign spoken of in this irreverent manner, Mr. Green answered promptly,—

"'He is a king, sir, and comports himself as a king!"

"'And all the better, I dare say,' returned Captain Truck, 'for the thrashing he got, when a youngster, from the Vermont tailor.'"—vol. iii. pp. 300-4.

The unfortunate young man who is hunted after, surrenders the money; and, after another sharp encounter between Captain Truck and the narrow-minded methodical office-man, who is admirably depicted as yet looking on the independence of the United States, only as the temporary success of a rebellion soon to be crushed, the person of the unhappy culprit is demanded.

"'You will not deliver me up, Captain Truck?' exclaimed the delinquent. 'They will hang me! Oh, you will not have the heart to let them hang me?'

"Captain Truck was startled; but he sternly reminded the culprit, that it was too late to remember the punishment, when the crime was committed.

"'Never fear, Mr. Sandon,' said the office-man, with a sneer; 'these gentlemen will take you to New York, for the sake of the thousand pounds, if they can. A rogue is pretty certain of a kind reception in America, I hear.'

"'Mr. John Effingham, you have heard this wanton insult,' exclaimed Captain Truck; 'in what manner ought it to be resented?'

"'Command the offender to quit your ship instantly,' said John Effingham, firmly.

"Captain Ducie stared, and his face flushed; but, disregarding

him altogether, Captain Truck walked deliberately up to Mr. Green, and ordered him to go into the corvette's boat.

"'I shall allow of neither parley nor delay,' added the exasperated old seaman, struggling to appear cool and dignified, though his vocation was little for the latter. 'Do me the favour, sir, to permit me to see you to your boat, sir. Saunders, tell Mr. Leach to man the side; *three* sideboys. Now, sir, I ask it as the greatest possible favour, that you will walk on deck with me, or—or...damn me! but I'll drag you there, neck and heels!'

"It was too much for Captain Truck to seem calm when in a towering passion; and the outbreak at the close of his speech was accompanied by a violent gesture with his hand.

"'This is strong language, sir, to use to a British officer, under the guns of a British cruiser,' exclaimed the commander of the corvette.

"'And his was strong language to use to a man in his own country, and his own ship. Captain Ducie, *you* are welcome; but your companion has indulged in a coarse insult upon my country; and, damn me, if I submit to it, should I never see St. Katharine's Docks again. I had too much of this when a young man, to wish to find it repeated while an old one!'"—vol. iii. pp. 325-8.

Captain Ducie is obliged to give way to the honest passion of the stout-hearted and justly indignant old mariner; and Mr. Green is hurried out of the vessel. The defaulter is, however, surrendered, in Captain Truck's complaisance at carrying his point; and the wretched young man, disgraced and spirit-broken, is dragged away, and put aboard the sloop. Mr. Powis, too, leaves the Montauk for the man-of-war, in a most unexpected and suspicious manner; and the book closes with the landing of the rest of the party in New York, regretting their late companion, and feeling much uneasiness at the mysterious manner in which they have been deprived of his company. The reader, doubtless, will feel the same; and is referred by the author to the second of the novels before us, for a solution of the mystery.

Mr. Cooper seems to have anticipated the censure we think he deserves, for joining himself to those writers who have represented his country and countrymen in an unfavourable light. Paul Blunt, or Powis, in the third volume of the book from which we have hitherto made extracts, has a defence by anticipation put into his mouth.

"'It is the duty of the parent to educate and correct the child, but it is the duty of the citizen to reform and improve the character of his country. With foreigners, one should not deal too freely with her faults; but, with one's own countrymen, I see little use and much danger, in observing a silence.'"

This is but a weak answer to the charge against him. Were his books circulated and read in America alone, the defence would then be good; but when this is notoriously not the case—when in England his writings are as universally spread and as familiar as those of any native author, it is ridiculous to say, that he wrote only for an American eye. Mr. Cooper appears to us to be under a delusion, very common with writers of eminent talent; that of mistaking the bent of his own genius. He has fancied the province in which he excels, to be that of describing society; its intricacies, its variety of characters, its follies and its faults. Instead of the grave, calm, and dignified moralist and philosopher, to which character he had established high claims by the reflections, hardy indeed, but most just and sound, with which he has interspersed his novel of *The Bravo*, and some others of his works, light as well as serious, he has imagined his vocation to be that of the keen-witted, brilliant satirist, whose sharp-pointed weapon dazzles while it wounds. This is a sad and an utter mistake, and that it is so, no proof is needed beyond the manner in which his efforts in this line have been received by the public. Where those efforts are displayed in occasional passages of his former writings, it may be remarked, that in no one instance of all the quotations cited for applause and admiration, have one of these passages been brought forward. The same ill success attends his efforts on a larger scale; oblivion is fast closing round the adventures of Lady Chatterissa, Dr. Reasono, &c. in the wearisome three volumes of that most puerile and unhappy of all his productions, *The Monikins*. The present book, *Eve Effingham*, seems doomed to a similar and well-merited oblivion: happy for him if it be so; and if its fatiguing remembrance be not kept up by his irritated countrymen, to cast into his teeth, when next he shall call for their sympathies, and parade his loudly-vaunted patriotism.

While we express these opinions, we must not be understood to charge Mr. Cooper with false representations of his countrymen. So far from it, that we have already said his book is a more complete *exposé* of all relating to them than the active intellect of Mrs. Trollope, sharpened as it was by all the malice of a vain and vulgar mind, suffering under mortification, or the patient, earnest, plodding researches of Miss Martineau, had as yet furnished. The faults of the work before us, lie in its having been undertaken by a native American, and evidently made the vehicle of gratifying per-

sonal pique, and, still more evidently, of personal and most unbecoming and most ridiculous vanity. They also lie in the attempt to make a complete *Hogarthian* (if we may coin a word) and finished picture of what is a vigorous and sufficiently faithful portraiture indeed, but rudely and unartistically limned. We shall presently allude to the parts where Mr. Cooper's vanity has obtruded itself, but first give our readers a specimen of his descriptions of social life in American cities. To our former summary of the chief characters in this novel, we have only to add, that Mr. Sharp now appears in the character of the *real* Sir George Templemore; and a few new personages are introduced, of whom, however, none but two act prominent parts in these volumes; the one, Grace Van Courtlandt, cousin and companion in childhood of Eve Effingham—beautiful, amiable and affectionate. This young lady is put forward as a sample of the young American female of her class, (equivalent to what are called in aristocratic societies, the *upper* classes); thoroughly educated of course, so far as book-learning goes; but with her untravelled mind warped and constrained by the provincial ideas and opinions among which she has been brought up. The other personage is "Mr. Aristobulus Bragg, attorney and counsellor-at-law, and agent of the Templemore Estate." The words we have marked with inverted commas, form the beginning of a description of this worthy, from the pen of "*Cousin Jack.*" As we are farther informed that he is but one of a most extensive *genus* in America, individual specimens of which are to be met at every turn, we will transcribe the rest of Mr. John Effingham's description.

"Mr. Bragg was born in one of the western counties of Massachusetts, and emigrated to New York. His talents are undeniable; as he commenced his education at fourteen, and terminated it with *éclat* at twenty-one,—a course of law included. At twenty-one he was admitted to the bar; and has for the last seven years been a successful practitioner in all the courts of Otsego. This man is an epitome of all that is good, and all that is bad, in a very large class of his fellow-citizens. He is quick-witted, prompt in action, enterprising in all things in which he has a real stake,—and ready to turn, not only his hand, but his heart and his principles, to anything that offers an advantage. With him, literally, 'nothing is too high to be aspired to—nothing too low to be done.' He will run for governor, or for town-clerk, just as opportunities offer; is expert in all the *practices* of his profession; has had a quarter's *dancing*, with three years in the classics;—and turned his attention towards medicine and divinity, before he finally settled down into the law. Such a compound

of shrewdness, impudence, common-sense, pretension, humility, cleverness, vulgarity, kindheartedness, duplicity, selfishness, law-honesty, moral fraud, and mother-wit, mixed up with a smattering of learning, and much penetration in practical things,—can hardly be described, as any one of his prominent qualities is certain to be met by another quite as prominent, and almost its converse."—vol. i. pp. 19-20.

We have nothing to add to this;—as a picture of an extensive class in the United States, it is complete.

The sketch of town society, of which we have spoken, is preceded by a conversation between the young ladies and Sir George Templemore, in which the latter learns, to his surprise, that in America *genealogies* are not, *practically*, although they are *theoretically*, considered as waste paper. That he should have required to be specially informed of the fact seems strange, when it is so well known, to those who read at all in these countries, that this, unfortunately, is by no means the only point in which theory and practice are sadly at variance in America. As he seems disposed to push his enquiries farther, the offer is made and accepted, of giving him an opportunity of judging for himself of the state of society about which he displays such interest, by taking him into the middle of it. He is accordingly made one of the Effingham party, to visit three houses to which they have invitations for the evening. The worthy commander of the packet, Captain Truck, having dined with them, is also made to join. The first house on the list is that of a Mrs. Jarvis.

"Notwithstanding much management on the part of Mrs. Jarvis, to get showy persons to attend her entertainments, the simple elegance of the two carriages that bore the Effingham party threw all the other equipages into the shade. The simple, useful, graceful, almost indispensable, usage, of announcing at the door, indispensable to those who receive much, is but little known in America. Mrs. Jarvis would have shrunk from such an innovation, had she known that elsewhere the custom *prevailed*, but she was in happy ignorance. When Mlle. Viefville appeared, therefore, walking unsupported, followed by Eve and Grace, and the gentlemen of the party, she at first supposed there was some mistake, and that her visitors had got into the wrong house, there actually being an opposition party in the neighbourhood.

"'What brazen people!' whispered Mrs. Abijah Gross, who, having come from a New England village two years previous, fancied herself *au fait* in all the niceties of breeding and social tact; 'positively two young ladies walking about without gentlemen.'

"But it was not in her power to put down two such lovely creatures as Eve and her cousin. The surpassing beauty and mo-

desty of mien of both, effectually silenced criticism, after this solitary outbreak of vulgarity. . . . . John Effingham presented the baronet, whom Mrs. Jarvis, out of pure ignorance of his rank in his own country, received with perfect propriety and self respect.

" 'We have very few people of note in town at present, I believe,' said Mrs. Jarvis to John Effingham: 'a great traveller, a most interesting man, is the only one I could obtain, and I shall have great pleasure in introducing you, Mrs. Snow;—really the ladies are thronging about him as if he were a Pawnee; have the goodness to step this way, Mr. Effingham; Mrs. Snow, just touch his arm and let him know I wish to introduce a couple of friends. Mr. Dodge, Mr. John Effingham—Miss Effingham, Miss Van Courtlandt. I hope you may succeed in getting him a little to yourselves, ladies, for he can tell you all about Europe—saw the king of France riding out to Neuilly, and has a prodigious knowledge of things on the other side of the water.'

" It required all Eve's self-command to suppress a smile, but she had the tact and discretion to receive Mr. Steadfast Dodge as an utter stranger. John Effingham bowed haughtily, and then it was whispered they were rival travellers. . . . . The *clientèle* of Mr. Dodge increased rapidly.

" 'It is Mr. Dodge, the great traveller,' said one young lady, a *blue* in her own set; 'his beautiful and accurate descriptions have attracted great attention in England.'

" 'Have you read them, Miss Brackett?'

" 'Not the letters themselves absolutely, but all the remarks on them in the last week's *Hebdomad*,' &c. &c.

" . . . 'I should like to know your real opinion of all this set,' said John Effingham to the baronet aside, 'not that I plead guilty to our common provincial sensibility to the judgment of strangers, but with a view to aid you in forming a just estimate.'

" 'As I know the precise connexion between you and our host,' replied Sir George, 'there can be no objection to giving a frank reply. The women strike me as singularly delicate and pretty; well dressed, too, I may add; but while there is a great air of decency, there is very little high finish, and yet it is remarkable that there is scarcely any downright vulgarity or coarseness.' "—*Eve Effingham*, vol. i. pp. 93-100.

From this they proceed to the second place of invitation.

" 'Mrs. Hawker is widow and daughter of men of long established New York families,' said John Effingham, as the party drove from one house to the other; 'she is childless, affluent, and universally respected, where known, for her breeding, benevolence, and good sense. Yet in most of the sets in this town, not one in ten would know there is such a being, the *pêle-mêle* of a migratory population keeping persons of her character and condition out of view. Those who will prattle by the hour of the establishments of Mrs. Peleg

Pond, Mrs. Jonah Twist, Mrs. Abiram Wattles, people who first appeared five or six years since, and have launched out into vulgar finery, would look with surprise at Mrs. Hawker's claims to social distinction being mentioned.' . . . .

"A respectable, quiet, and aged black servant admitted the party. With respectful attention Mrs. Hawker rose, and, though she kissed the cousins affectionately, her reception of Mlle. Viefville was so simply polite, as to convince the latter she was valued on account of her services. After paying proper attention to the greatest stranger, Mrs. Hawker turned to Captain Truck, and said,

"'This, then, is the gentleman to whose courage and skill you all owe so much—I might more properly have said *we* all.'

"'I have the honour of commanding the 'Montauk,' ma'am,' replied Captain Truck, singularly awed by the dignified simplicity of his hostess, though her quiet, natural, and yet finished manner, was as unlike what he had expected as possible, 'and, with such passengers as she had last voyage, I can only say, it is a pity she is not better off for one to take care of her.'

"'Your passengers give a different account; but, that I may judge, do me the favour to take this chair, and let me learn a few of the particulars from yourself.'

"Observing that Sir G. Templemore had followed Eve to the other side of the room, Mrs. Hawker resumed her seat, and, without neglecting her guests generally, she contrived to put the worthy captain, in a few minutes, entirely at his ease."—vol. ii. pp. 103-106.

"'Is the circle large to which Mrs. Hawker and her friends belong?' asked Sir George, as he assisted Eve and Grace to cloak, when they had taken leave. 'A town which can boast of half-a-dozen such houses as hers, need not accuse itself of wanting society.'

'"Ah, there is but one Mrs. Hawker in New York,' answered Grace; 'it would be too much to say we have even half-a-dozen such houses as hers.'"—p. 117.

An agreeable hour having been thus passed at Mrs. Hawker's, the party once more seek their carriages, and repair to the third invitation.

"Mrs. Houston was, what was termed, a fashionable woman, in New York. She also was of a family of local note, though much less so than that of Mrs. Hawker. As her means were ample, and her tastes perhaps superior to those of most around her, she kept what was thought a house of better tone than common, even in the highest circle. In Grace Van Courtlandt's eyes, it was the house of all others that she thought might make a favourable impression on her cousin. The noise, rude clamour, and swearing, before Mr. Houston's door, said little for this part of the arrangement.

"'One hardly knows which is the most terrific,' said Eve involuntarily, as soon as with difficulty the door was passed, 'the noise within, or the noise without.'

"This was spoken rapidly, and in French, to Mlle. Viefville; but Grace heard it, and, for the first time in her life, perceived that Mrs. Houston's company was not composed of nightingales. The surprise is, the discovery should have come so late.

Mrs. Houston received her guests with ease and dignity. She was what the Americans call *gay;* in other words, she opened her house to a very promiscuous society, ten or twelve times in a winter, and accepted invitations. Still, in other countries, as a fashionable woman, she would have been esteemed a model as a wife and mother; and had actually taught all her children the Lord's Prayer, the creed, and commandments. Feminine, well-mannered, rich, pretty, of a very positive social condition, and naturally disposed for society, she had found no difficulty in rising to the pinnacle of fashion. . . . .

"'These rooms are very crowded,' said Sir George; 'it is surprising this contracted style of building should be so very general, in a town that increases so rapidly as this.'

"'These houses,' said Eve, 'are but types of the social state of the country, in which no one is permitted to occupy more than his own share of ground. . . . . . .'"

An American *belle* is now described.

"The young lady in question, Miss Ring, was about twenty; of delicate features and frame, and, under proper training, would have been the *beau ideal* of feminine delicacy and gentleness. Around this young creature were no less than five young men, dressed in the height of the fashion. They all laughed,—the lady most; and sometimes all spoke at once. Notwithstanding these outbreakings, Miss Ring did most of the talking; and once or twice, as a young man would gape after a most exhilarating show of merriment, and discover an inclination to retreat, she managed to recall him to his allegiance by some remark particularly pertinent to himself, or his feelings. . . . . The loud tone in which she gave her opinions, startled Mlle. Viefville, quite as much as the subjects the *belle* selected. The French lady would have moved, as listening to a conversation not meant for their ears; but John Effingham quietly assured her, Miss Ring seldom spoke in company, without intending as many persons as possible to hear her."—vol. i. pp. 127-35.

We proceed to another, and the last description Mr. Cooper purports to give of town society.

"Our task of describing town society will soon be ended. The gentlemen of the Effingham family, and Sir G. Templemore, had been invited to one or two dinners. . . . . A well-spread board, highly respectable cookery, and delicious wines, were met everywhere. Two rows of men, clad in dark dresses, and a solitary female at the head of the table, invariably composed the convives. The exaggerations of a province were often ludicrously apparent. . . . . At table, the first great duty of restoration performed, conversation turned on

prices of lots, speculations in towns, or the currency. Then came the regular assay of wines, during which, it was easy to fancy the master of the house a dealer; for, he was usually either sucking a syphon, or flourishing a corkscrew..... Shortly after Mrs. Houston's ball, our party were invited to look in on a Mrs. Legend, a lady of a literary turn. Desirous that this evening should be memorable in the annals of conversazioni; therefore, anxious to have foreign nations duly represented, poor Mrs. Legend was obliged to invite certain gin-dealers, from Holland; a German linen-merchant, from Saxony; an Italian dei cavalieri, who amused himself in selling beads; and a Spanish master, born in Portugal; all of whom had just one requisite for conversation in their respective languages, and no more..... At the appointed hour, the foreign corps arrived first, for the refreshments were something to them; and then came the blues in force. Miss Annual, as regular a devotee in letters as ever conned a primer; Mrs. Monthly; Miss Economy, S. R. P. Marion; Longinus, D. O. V. E.; Julietta, &c., &c., &c.; and, at least, a dozen travelled ladies, who, having seen pictures and statues abroad, must necessarily have the means of talking about them at home. The list of men was still more formidable, At its head, stood Steadfast Dodge, Esq., whose fame had so far swollen, that, for the first time in his life, he now entered one of the better houses of his own country. Then there were the authors of *Lapis Lazuli*, *The Aunts*, *The Reformed*, *The Conformed*, *The Transformed*, *The Deformed*; the editors of *The Hebdomad*, *The Night Cap*, *The Chrysalis*, *The Seek no Farther*, the *Real Maggot*; also, *Junius*, *Junius Brutus*, *Lucius Junius Brutus*, *Captain Kant*, *Single Rhyme*, a genius who had prudently rested his fame on a couplet of one line, *Florio*, *&c.*, *&c.......*

"John Effingham was fully aware of the error which existed as to Captain Truck, who had, by some process or other, been metamorphosed by common report, into the Hon. and Reverend Mr. Truck; 'a gentleman,' said the newspapers, 'travelling in our country, from whose liberality, a just account of our society was to be expected. In order that the public might be disabused in a matter of so much importance, he persuaded the old man to accept this invitation, without explaining to him, however, the mistake..... The personal appearance of the honest tar was well adapted to his new character. His hair had long been getting grey; but the intense anxiety resulting from his recent adventures, had gradually, but rapidly, increased this mark of time. The hale fresh red of his features, might very well pass for the tint of port; and his tread, which had always something of the quarter-deck swing about it, might easily have been mistaken for the human frame staggering under a load of learning.

"'What a Byronic head,' whispered the author of the *Transformed* to D. O. V. E., 'and was there ever such a curl of the lip?'

"The truth was, the captain had thrust his tobacco into his cheek, as a monkey is known to *empocher* a spare nut, or a lump of sugar.

"'Pray,' said Miss Annual to Lucius Junius Brutus, 'which is thought the best of his works: that on a-a-a, or that on e-e-e?'

"Now it so happened no one but the "lion" himself had any idea of the books he had written, and he only knew of some fifteen or twenty log books. All that was generally understood was, that he was a great English writer, and this was more than sufficient.

"'I believe the world generally prefers the a-a-a,' said Lucius Junius Brutus, 'but a few give decided preference to the e-e-e.'

"'Oh, out of all question preferable,' exclaimed half-a-dozen voices within hearing,'" &c. &c. . . . . . .

A conversation follows between Eve and the lady of the house, during which, with the satirical aid of Mr. John Effingham, the characters of the other literati present are fully discussed. Some favourites of our author are now introduced.

"The new guest was Mr. Pindar, one of those careless, unsentimental fellows, that occasionally throw off an ode that passes through the world, and yet who never fancied spectacles necessary to his face, nor *soirées* to his renown. . . . A moment after came Mr. Gray, a man who needed nothing but taste in the public, to stand near the head of the poets of our own time. These persons came late, like those who had already been dosed too often in the same way, to be impatient of repetition. They soon got together in a corner, for refuge from the *oi polloi* of literature, joined by Mr. Pith, a man whose caustic wit needs only a sphere for its exercise, manners to portray, and a society with strong points about it to illustrate [pretty extensive requisites], in order to enrol his name high in the catalogue of satirists. Another ring announced Mr. Fun, a writer of exquisite humour, but who, having perpetrated a little too much sentiment in his time, was seized on by the ladies.

"'Who, in the name of the twelve Cæsars, has Mrs. Legend got to lionize yonder?' asked the odeist of the party in the corner.

"'Some English pamphleteer, a fellow who has achieved a pert review, or Minerva pressism, and now flourishes among us like a bay tree. A modern Juvenal on his travels.'

"'Fun is well badgered,' observed Mr. Gray. 'Do you not see Miss Annual, Miss Monthly, and that young alphabet, D. O. V. E., have got him within the circle of their petticoats, and where he will be martyred on a sigh? Here comes the 'lion,' and he breaks loose from his cage like a beast poked up with sticks.'

"'Good evening, gentlemen,' said Captain Truck, wiping his face intensely, and who, having made his escape from a throng of admirers, took refuge in the first port that offered; 'quite cool and agreeable in this corner, as I hope to be saved.'"

The mystification of poor Captain Truck, who has now, at

length, made his escape from a bevy of literary ladies, all anxious to hold communion with the "lion" of the evening, is increased by these gentlemen, who maliciously encourage the honest sailor to light a segar. Even this does not open the eyes of the general company, who at length, however, find out their error, and seek to cover it by a precipitate flight.

In passing from this part of the book, to Mr. Cooper's other delineations of manners in America, the remark forces itself upon us, that however loudly he is denounced by his countrymen for thus holding them up to ridicule, and however overcharged such pictures, at first sight, would seem to a European eye, their accuracy has been in no one instance denied.

It is not necessary to occupy much time with the story as here continued. Sir George Templemore, who in *Homeward Bound* appears in the character of a rival to Paul Powis for the affections of Eve Effingham, now begins to perceive that his absent competitor has forstalled him, and wisely relinguishes all farther contest, ere his own feelings are too deeply engaged. In the course of the present volumes he is made gradually to conceive an admiration of the beauties and graces of Miss Van Courtlandt, which feeling ere long deepens into love, and we may as well at once say, that the matter ends by the fair American becoming Lady Templemore. The baronet's character would appear to us to have been introduced with something of the same design, that led Lady Morgan to conceive that of Sir Frederick Mottram in her novel of *The Princess*,—the design of exhibiting the effect upon an Englishman of some station, bred up among, and deeply imbued with, the prejudices of his class and country, of a sojourn in a land where liberal principles are in the ascendant. But the execution is not equal in the two cases, owing, we think, in a great measure, to Mr. Cooper's having been insensibly led away from his original plan, by the temptation to dilate upon the imperfections of his fellow-countrymen. Sir George Templemore accordingly returns to England at the end of the book, with apparently little other benefit from his tour in America, beyond the very important one of having there found a lovely and amiable wife.

Subsequently to the scenes we have quoted, and previously to the departure of the party for the country residence of the Effinghams, Sir George Templemore is taken, by the latter gentlemen, to see the business parts of New York. The description that follows, of the visit to the Exchange, reads

much more like one of the allegorical visions that the essayists of the last century were so much in the habit of using, to convey moral reproof to the community for which they wrote, than like a plain and truthful narration of every day occurrences. That it is borne out by fact—that it is not even exaggerated in the slightest degree—nay, scarcely comes up to the real state of the case, Miss Martineau and a thousand other writers, native Americans as well as foreigners, bear most abundant witness. At the risk of exceeding our limits, we must extract at least a portion of this description. Comment there is none to be made, beyond Mr. Cooper's own remarks, or those he puts into the mouths of his characters.

"John Effingham led the way up stairs into the office of one of the most considerable auctioneers. The walls were lined with maps, some representing houses, some lots, some streets, some entire towns.

"'This is the focus of the *town trade*,' said he; 'here you may suit yourself. If a ville is wanted, here are a dozen; of farms there are a hundred in market; there are merely half-a-dozen streets; and here are towns of dimensions and value to suit all purchasers. Mr. Hammer, are you selling to-day?'

"'Not much, sir,' replied the auctioneer, 'only a 100 or 200 lots on this island, and some six or eight farms, with one smallish western village. . . . . . This was the farm of old Volkert Van Brunt five years ago, off which he and his family made a livelihood by selling milk. Two years since the son sold it to Peter Feeler for 5000 *dollars*. Feeler sold it to John Search, as keen a one as we have, for 25,000. Search sold it, at a private sale, to Nathan Rise, for 50,000, the next week. Rise had parted with it to a company, before the purchase, for 112,000, cash. The map ought to be taken down, for it is eight months since we sold it, in lots at auction, for the gross sum of 300,000. As we have received our commission, we look on that land as out of the market for some time. . . . These walls are covered with estates in the same predicament. Some have risen 2 or 3000 per cent. within a few years, and some only a hundred. It is all fancy.'

"'And on what is this enormous increase founded. Does this town extend to those fields?'"

"'Much farther, sir, *on paper*, but in the way of houses, is yet some miles short of them. A good deal depends on what you *call* a thing. Had old Van Brunt's property been still called a farm, it would have brought but a farm price; but when surveyed into lots and *mapped*,—that is, brought into visible lines, with feet and inches, instead of acres, it rose to its just value. We have a good deal of the bottom of the sea that brings fair prices, in consequence of being well mapped!' . . . . Descending, the gentleman entered a crowd,

where scores were eagerly bidding against each other, in the fearful delusion of growing rich, by pushing a fancied value to a still higher point........

"'When I first entered that room,' said John Effingham, 'I thought it filled with maniacs. Now, that I have been in it several times, the impression is not much altered.'

"'And all these persons are hazarding their means of subsistence on the imaginary estimate mentioned by the auctioneer?'

"'They are gambling as recklessly as he who places his substance on the cast of the die.....I have witnessed many similar excesses in the way of speculation, but never an instance so wide-spread, so alarming as this.'......

"'The desire to grow suddenly rich, has seized on all classes. Even women and clergymen are infected, and we exist under the most corrupting of all influences,—the love of money.'"—vol. i. p. 216.

The great fire at New York now occurs, and its results are thus described:

"The day which followed this disaster was memorable for the rebuke it gave the rapacious longing for wealth. Men who had set their hearts on gold, were made to feel its insecurity; and those who were as gods so lately, began to experience how utterly insignificant are the merely rich, when stripped of their possessions.

"A faint voice was heard from the pulpit, and there was a moment when those who remembered a better state of things, began to fancy that principles would once more assert their ascendancy, and that the community would, in a measure, be purified. But this expectation ended in disappointment, the infatuation being too widely spread, and too corrupting, to be stopped, even by this check; and the rebuke was reserved for a form that seems to depend on a law of nature,—that of causing vice to bring with it its own means of punishment."—vol. i. pp. 218-19.

This is a fearful picture, and but too true! Commentary upon it would but weaken its force.

The Effinghams, with Miss Van Courtlandt and Sir George Templemore in company, proceed to their country-place, the same that in *The Pioneers* is the residence of Judge Temple. There is much description of scenery and conversation on its merits, all of which we pass over as heavy in the extreme, and only serving to add to the *longueurs* of the book. They are as yet little more than arrived, when they learn from Mr. Bragg, that the valley and lake have begun to be haunted by a *poet.* Meeting accidentally with this candidate for the bays, they find him, to their great surprise, to be no other than their old companion in adventure, Paul Powis. The mystery that hung around his leave-taking of them in the former volume is now

explained, in a way, that we venture to predict, the reader will find more calculated to make him angry with himself for having suffered Mr. Cooper to *entrap* him into feeling interest on the subject, than to give much satisfaction. We must refer him to Mr. Cooper's pages for the explanation; its disjointed and prosing details are really not worth copying.

One of our author's real, though not acknowledged, designs in weaving this tale of American manners and American social condition, now begins to peep out. Notwithstanding all his loud declamations on the beauty and fitness of a republican state of things, and the powerful contrasts that in some of his former works he has drawn between a government in the hands of the people and one in those of an individual, or of an oligarchy, to the disadvantage of the latter; ideas and tendencies of a very different nature begin now to manifest themselves. There have been those who thought religion not a bad thing, for the *lower* classes. Mr. Cooper places republicanism in the same "category," to borrow a word from Captain Truck. Paul Powis, who is evidently a second "*alter ego*" in the story before us, explains, among other things, that he possessed a claim to a British peerage, which, however, he magnanimously had determined not to assert.

"'There are many young men in this country,' said John Effingham, 'who would cling to the hopes of a British peerage with greater tenacity.'

"'It is probable there are; but my self-denial,' replied Paul, 'is not of a very high order, for it could scarcely be expected, that the English ministers would give the rank to a foreigner, who did not hesitate about avowing his principles and national feelings. I shall not say, I did not covet this peerage, for it would be superogatory; but I am born an American, and will die an American; and an American who ever swaggers about such a claim, is like the daw among the peacocks. The less that is said about it the better.'"—vol. ii. p. 253.

We perfectly agree with Mr. Cooper in the latter remarks, and think it would have been best of all if he said nothing at all on the subject. This is not the only instance in which he indirectly intimates his aristocratical leanings and pretensions; we have several other passages that go to impress on our minds, with rather anxious earnestness, the important and gratifying fact, that such things exist, even in republican America, as family pedigrees; deemed too, by their possessors, to be often far purer and clearer to be traced than the generality of pedigrees in the old world.

The interpretation put by our author, and his circle in America, on the great principle and doctrine of "Civil Equality," may be gathered from a scene between Eve, who has had her ideas enlarged by travel and communion with the superior mind of John Effingham, and the simple and inexperienced Grace Van Courtlandt, who is credulous enough to believe, that words in the United States have their obvious and natural meaning.

"'Sir George does not seem to think of rank at all,' said Grace, 'even Mr. Powis treats him in all respects as an equal.'

"'And why should he *not* do so?' asked Eve impetuously.

"'Why, Eve, one is a baronet, and the other but a simple gentleman.'

"'A simple gentleman, Grace,' Eve repeated slowly, after her cousin, 'and is not a simple *American* gentleman, the equal of any English baronet? Would your uncle think you, would cousin Jack, proud, lofty-minded, cousin Jack, think you, Grace, consent to receive so paltry a distinction, as a baronetcy, were our institutions to be so far altered, as to admit of such social classifications?'

"'Why, what would they be, Eve, if not baronets?'

"'Earls, counts, dukes, nay princes! These are the designations of the higher classes of Europe, and such titles, or those that are equivalent, would belong to the higher classes here. . . Do you not know, that there are families in America, which, if disposed to raise any objections, beyond those that are purely personal, would object to baronets and the wearers of red ribbons, as unfit matches for their daughters, on the ground of *rank*? . . Let us respect ourselves properly, let us take care to be truly ladies and gentlemen, and so far from titular ranks being necessary to us, we shall before long, bring all such distinctions into discredit.'—Vol. ii. pp. 60, 70.

What is all this, but the poor and thinly disguised hankering after those "social classifications," which the American professes to despise. What is it after all, but a manifestation of that desire, which has been falsely said to actuate those, who are designated "*Radical Reformers*," in this country,—the desire of bringing down all above them, to their own level, but of allowing the existing order of things to remain undisturbed, with regard to all below them. Steadfast Dodge, Aristobulus Bragg, and some less prominent characters, in these volumes, put forward as representatives and personifications, we are informed, of very large classes of persons in the States, are held up as objects of ridicule and contempt, merely because they seek to bring the level down a step lower, so as to include themselves. It is true that they are made to display offensive self-conceit, and obtrusiveness; but we must recollect, that the

description is from the pen of one of the class, to which they aspire, and their conduct could not be more offensive to the Effinghams, than would the aristocratic pretensions and haughtiness of the latter be to them.

We scarcely fear, that the spirit of our remarks will be so far misunderstood, as to have it supposed we deny the perfect propriety in itself, of Eve Effingham's recommendation to her fellow-citizens, in the extract last quoted, to be "truly ladies and gentlemen." A proper self-respect is most commendable, and the unfailing means of insuring respect from others. Still less are we disposed to deny the universally established axiom, that there is no rank *intrinsically* higher than that of a "gentleman." But what we do not relish, is the constant and nervous anxiety Mr. Cooper displays, to impress upon the minds of all whom it may concern, that he considers himself no whit inferior, in position, to any person in any country, and that there are large classes in his own country, whom he does not think worthy of associating with him. If he be so intimately convinced of his own perfect *real* equality, with those whose *nominal* titles are higher sounding than his, where is the necessity of repeating it to us over and over again; and if it be his fidelity to republicanism that would make him scorn to lay claim to a title, that his pedigree informs him he has a right to in England, why should it not also prevent his flouting so unmercifully at those who but seek to carry out the principles he so professes to revere?

We turn from this disagreeable part of our subject, to an amusing contrast of two characters, (perhaps we should have said *outlines* of characters, for the parties are so little connected with the main part of the story, that they are nothing more,) the one, the "American of forty years ago, full of provincial notions of England," the other belonging to "the opposite school, and as ultra-American, as his neighbour was ultra-British."

"'Here comes our old neighbour, Tom Howel,' said Mr. Effingham, 'as kind-hearted a man, Sir George, as exists; one who is really American.'

"'Aye,' added John Effingham, 'as real an American as any man can be, who uses English spectacles for all he looks at, English opinions for all he says, English prejudices for all he condemns, and an English palate for all he tastes. American quotha! The man is no more American, than the Times newspaper, or Charing Cross.'

"The meeting was cordial, Mr. Howel greeting them like a warm friend. John Effingham was not more backward, for he too

liked their simple-minded, kind-hearted, but credulous neighbour.

"'You are great travellers, very great travellers,' said Howel, 'while I am a fixture. Well, Miss Eve, of all the countries in which you have dwelt, to which do you give the preference?'

"'I think Italy,' answered Eve,' with a friendly smile, 'although there are some agreeable things, peculiar to almost every country.'

"'Italy! well that astonishes me a good deal! I never knew there was anything particularly interesting about Italy! I should have expected you to say England.'

"'England is a fine country, too, but wants many things.'

"'Well now, *what?* what *can* Italy possess, that England does not enjoy in a still greater degree?'

"'It's recollections, and all that interest time gives.'

"'And is England wanting in this? Are there not the Conqueror, or if you will, Alfred, Elizabeth, Shakespeare? Think of Shakespeare, my dear young lady, and Sir Walter Scott, and the Gunpowder Plot, and Oliver Cromwell, my dear Miss Eve, and Westminster Abbey, and London Bridge, and George IV, the descendant of a line of real kings.'

"'Very interesting, no doubt, but Italy has its relics of former ages too; you forget the Cæsars.'

"'Very good persons in their way, for barbarous times, but what can they be to the English monarchs? . . Then there are the noble ruins of England! *They* you must admit are unrivalled.'

"'The temple of Pæstum, is commonly thought an interesting ruin, Mr. Howel.'

"'Yes, for a *temple*, I dare say. But no temple can ever compare to a ruined *abbey*.'

"'Taste is an arbitrary thing, Tom Howel, as we all know,' said Mr. Effingham, willing to put an end to this discussion. 'I am anxious to make you acquainted with our countryman, Mr. Powis, and this is an English friend, who I am certain, will be happy to know so warm an admirer of his own country,—Sir George Templemore.'

"Mr. Howel had never before seen a titled Englishman, and he was taken so much by surprise, that he made his salutations rather awkwardly. He soon however recovered his self-possession.

"'I hope you have brought back a sound American heart, Miss Eve,' resumed Howel, 'I have all along trusted too much to your patriotism, to believe you would marry a foreigner.'

"'I hope you except Englishmen,' cried Sir George, gaily, 'we are almost the same people.'

"'I am proud to hear you say so, sir, nothing flatters me more, than to be thought English,'" &c. &c.—Vol. ii. pp. 37, 44.

So much for the lover of England, now for the true-hearted American.

"'You must be much gratified, Miss Effingham,' observed Mr. Wenham, who, like a true American, being a young man himself, supposed it *de rigueur* to address a young lady in preference to any other person present, 'with the great progress made by our country since you went abroad.'

"Eve simply answered, that her extreme youth, when she left home, had prevented her retaining any precise notions; 'one like myself,' she added, 'who remembers only older countries, is more apt to be struck with deficiencies, than with what may in truth be improvements, though still far short of excellencies.'

"Mr. Wenham looked vexed, or indignant would be a better word; but he succeeded in preserving his coolness; a thing not always easy to one of provincial habits and education, when he finds his own *beau ideal* lightly estimated by others.

"'Have you read the articles in the Hebdomad, signed Minerva, Miss Effingham?' said he, determined to try her on a point of sentiment, having succeeded so ill in his first attempt to interest her, 'they are generally thought a great acquisition to American literature.'

"'Well, Wenham, you are a fortunate man,' said Howel, 'if you can find any literature in America, to add to, or subtract from: beyond almanacks, reports of cases badly got up, and newspaper verses, I know nothing that deserves such a name.'

"'We may not print on as fine paper, Mr. Howel, or do up the books in as handsome bindings as other people,' said Wenham, bridling and looking grave, 'but so far as sentiments and sound sense are concerned, *American* literature need turn its back on no literature of the day.'"—Vol. ii. pp. 50, 52.

A graver matter for consideration to the party, and especially Mr. Effingham, speedily arises, when during a pleasure excursion on the lake, in the grounds, on general attention being drawn to a particular spot, on a jutting point of great natural beauty, John Effingham informs them, that this point, although the private property of the family, is claimed by the people of the village, as theirs of right. Mr. Effingham determines not to submit to the imposition, and refers to his agent, Mr. Aristobulus Bragg, to be informed of the nature of the claim.

"'Do you gravely affirm, Mr. Bragg, that the public pretend to claim that point? You are a lawyer, and ought to give an intelligent account of their pretended right.'

"'Why, sir, your father gave it to them in his lifetime. Every body knows that; 'it is the common tradition of the whole country.'

"'This then only shows, how idly and inconsiderately country traditions take their rise. Tell the public, they are not the owners of the point, but that I am, and am determined to maintain my claims.'

"'It is hard to kick against the pricks, Mr. Effingham; some of those I have conversed with, have gone so far, as to desire me to

tell you, they hold your rights cheaply, and that they defy you. Your advertisement against trespassing on the point, has created one of the greatest sensations it has ever been my fortune to witness.'

"'This ought to be very encouraging to us, Mr. Bragg; as people acting under excited feelings, are very liable to fall into error.'

"'Very true, sir, in individual excitements, but this is a public one.'

"'I am not aware that that alters the case. If one excited man does silly things, half a dozen backers only increase his folly.'

"Aristobulus listened with increasing wonder, for excitement was one of the means of effecting public objects, so much practised by men of his habits, that it had never crossed his mind, that any single individual could be indifferent to its existence. . . He at length gave up, in despair, the attempt to convince Mr. Effingham. On quitting the house, he forthwith informed all, of that gentleman's determination not to be trampled on by any public meeting. Both he and Mr. Dodge agreed, that there was unheard of temerity in thus resisting the people. Among some points of resemblance between these two worthies, was the fault of confounding the cause with the effects of the institutions under which they lived. Because the law gave the public that authority, that elsewhere is entrusted to one, or to a few, they believed the public invested with far more power than a right understanding of their own principles would have shown. In a word, both these persons made a mistake that is getting too common in America, that of supposing the institutions of the country were all means and no end. Under this error, they saw only the machinery of the government, becoming entirely forgetful, that the power which was given to the people collectively, was only so given to secure to them, as perfect a liberty as possible, in their characters as individuals. Neither had risen sufficiently above vulgar notions, to understand, that public opinion, in order to be omnipotent, must be right. It is scarcely necessary to say, that Mr. Effingham and his cousin, viewed matters differently from Messrs. Bragg and Dodge. Clear-headed, just-minded and liberal, Mr. Effingham felt greatly annoyed at what had occurred.

"'It strikes me, John,' he said, 'this is a poor return for the liberality with which I let others use my property thirty years. Unequalled pecuniary prosperity, may sensibly impair manners, by introducing suddenly into society, uninstructed and untrained men and women,—may corrupt morals,—but I confess, I did not expect to see the day, when a body of strangers, birds of passage, should assume a right, to call on the older, long-established inhabitants, to prove their claims to their possessions.'

"'Long established!' repeated John Effingham; laughing, 'have you not been absent a dozen years, and do not these people reduce everything to the level of their own habits? These people deem everything reduced to the six legal months required to vote, and that rotation in persons, is as necessary to republicanism, as rotation in

office. Look around you, and you will see adventurers uppermost everywhere,—in the government, in your towns, in the country; we are a nation of changes, men are become impatient of any sameness, though it be useful. Of the two, I should prefer the cold, dogged, domination of English law, with its fruits, to the heartlessness of a sophistication, without a parallel,—to being trampled upon, by every blackguard, that may happen to traverse this valley, in his wanderings after dollars. There is one thing you yourself must admit; the public are a little too apt to neglect duties they ought to discharge, and to assume duties they have no right to fulfil.' "—Vol. ii. chap. xv.

The result of all this is, that Mr. Effingham maintains his right, and for having done so, is not only defamed and abused in the village, but his conduct is denounced by Mr. Dodge in his newspaper. The clamour is at once taken up by the press throughout the country, without enquiry. "It was in print, and that struck the great majority of the editors and their readers, as sufficient; and this rank injustice was done a private citizen, as much without moral restraint, as without remorse, by those, who to take their own account of the matter, were the regular and habitual champions of human rights."

There are several other equally unflattering pictures of the social condition of the United States, by our author, which we would gladly dwell on, bringing out, as they do, all the salient points of the national character; but our limits forbid us. What the cure for the existing evils is to be, becomes a serious question, when, according to Mr. Cooper's own confession, they have reached their present alarming height with such rapidity and vigour of growth, and are still daily and hourly increasing. Mr. Cooper would not seem to see his way very clearly in the matter of finding the desired remedy, as his views of the present order or rather *disorder* of things, vary in different parts of the work before us. At one time his tone is desponding—amelioration seems impossible, and his characters are made to announce their intention of speedily absenting themselves once again from their country, to seek in foreign lands that *tolerance*, regularity and quiet, they cannot find in their own. At another moment our author has begun to entertain hopes, more or less strong, of improvement, and he dwells upon the few points of good that yet remain standing and evident, above the whelming stream of national corruption, with an energy quite equal to that of his former denunciations. Again, at a third time, he seems to balance

between the two extreme opinions, endeavouring, as it were, to find a mean between them.

"There are limits to the knowledge and tastes and habits of every man. As each is regulated by the opportunities of the individual, it follows of necessity that no one can have a standard much above his own experience. That an isolated and remote people should be a provincial people, or, in other words, a people of narrow and peculiar practices and opinions, is as unavoidable as that study should make a scholar; though, in the case of America, the great reason for wonder is, that causes so very obvious should produce so little effect. When compared with the bulk of other nations, the Americans, though so remote, are scarcely provincial; for it is only when the highest standard of this nation is compared with that of others, that we detect the existing great deficiency. That a moral foundation so broad should uphold a superstructure so narrow, is owing to the fact, that the popular sentiment has domination; and all being referred to judges who, in the nature of things must be of limited attainments, the decision participates in the qualities of the tribunal. The great mistake has been the supposing that, because the mass rules in the political sense, it has a right to rule in all other matters. It is to be hoped, that time, and a greater concentration of taste, liberality and knowledge, than can well distinguish a young and scattered population, will repair this evil; and that our children will reap the harvest of the broad fields of intelligence that have been sown by us. Meantime, the present generation must endure that which cannot easily be cured," &c. &c.—Vol. iii. p. 24-5.

It is always an easy thing to write, when the faults and imperfections of others are our theme. There is an unfortunate proneness in human nature to dwell upon such a subject,—a proneness, which true religion, whose essence is charity, condemns and reprobates, as energetically and as repeatedly as it does the most flagrant and most undefended vice of a direct and positive nature. This facility is very much increased, when those we write about offer such glaring points of attack as do the Americans, and, indeed, censure is seldom more excusable, than when directed against them. But censure is only excusable when administered with the sincere purpose of friendly correction, and with temper, if with severity. So administered, it becomes most laudable; but these conditions must be observed with great care. The slightest exhibition of personal feelings—the slightest approach to insult upon those on whom we remark, must be sedulously avoided; as, independent of other considerations, calculated utterly to defeat the end we profess to have in view. The often-quoted expression of "Junius" tells us, that "injuries may be atoned for and for-

given, but insults admit of no compensation. They degrade the mind in its own esteem, and force it to recover its level by revenge." Mr. Cooper ought to have borne this in mind when he conceived the idea of writing *Eve Effingham*. He has put strongly before the world, with all the authenticity and influences of his name and position, representations, there is every reason to believe accurate, of much of what deserves reprehension in the social condition and manners of his countrymen: and from the sensitiveness they have displayed to the attacks of others, who, as foreigners, were of course likely to be less well-informed and to carry less weight with them, there would have been good ground for hoping some improvement from his *exposé*,—but that hope is destroyed by the frequent unnecessary insults offered by him in many parts of the present work, to American self-love. He has thus deprived himself of the only good and plausible answer to the charge of *treachery*, so loudly and directly urged against him by his exasperated fellow-countrymen.

If he has played them false, he has played yet more falsely to the duties of his position as a public writer. As we have said at the commencement of this article, not one word do the six volumes we have been reviewing, contain, on the subject of the people of colour in America! And this, when three of those volumes contain frequent discussions upon the social state of that country, and the other three are avowedly and entirely devoted to an examination and exposition of that state. This is indeed the play of *Hamlet*, omitting the Prince of Denmark. That subject, that is, and has been, disturbing and convulsing the Union,—on its borders, by the wars of extermination with the plundered and maddened Indians; and in its interior and to its very centre, by the base, atrocious and worse than heathenish conduct observed towards the unhappy negroes, and those who dare to speak one word of justice, or of kindness towards them: that question, pregnant with the worst—the most fearful—almost the only real dangers to the republic—that question, Mr. Cooper does not once touch upon! There can be but two reasons for his abstinence on this point; let him choose between them; and let the world judge how fitting it is for a man actuated by either, to set himself up as a judge, or corrector of others. Either he is one of those, who outrage humanity by sanctioning and approving the manner in which the Negroes and the Indians are treated, or he has been *afraid* to speak out: he has truckled to the majority more basely and more vilely than

ever yet was done by any among the large classes, that he informs us, he personifies in the character of Mr. Bragg and Mr. Dodge. In direct and full proportion to the tremendous importance of the question at issue between the whites and the two races they trample on, is the degree of turpitude and disgrace deliberately and wantonly incurred by Mr. Cooper.

We cannot close our remarks, without expressing our astonishment, that in a work professing to lay open America to our view, the important subject of her religious condition; her immense variety of religious professions, &c. should not have been touched upon, or so very lightly, as almost to have escaped notice. We could have wished to have entered upon this curious and interesting subject, but his allusions to it offer no peg to hang our remarks on, and we must therefore defer its consideration to some other, and we hope speedy opportunity.

ART. XI.—*Musical Reminiscences: containing an Account of the Italian Opera in England from* 1773. *Fourth Edition, continued to the present time, and including the Festival in Westminster Abbey.* By the Earl of Mount-Edgecumbe. London: 1834.

THE "Decline of the Drama" is the burthen of a lament, which, ever and anon, is permitted to escape the lips and pens of those whose habits and tastes, rather than the voluntary suffrage of others, have erected into *arbiters* on the subject. Whether the complaints be just or not, our experience is not sufficiently extensive to determine. To us the general run of both performers and performances hath been distasteful enough, as long as memory serveth us; but whether they were better, *on the average*—for that is the fair point for consideration—in days by-gone, we really cannot decide. We certainly do not believe that there now exists the man who could write the play of "Hamlet;" neither do we think that "Julius Cæsar" could, just at this moment, be cast as we have seen it, "even in our boyish days;" nevertheless, taking all that can be included in the phrase "state of the Drama," we opine that the plaint already noticed, is only part and parcel of the common dogma of those whose memory of past pleasures, hath outlived their present power of enjoyment; and who, therefore, fancy that things are not as they were wont to be—

—— "in their young days,
When George the Third was king."

Touching this mighty question of the state of the drama generally, we have nothing to say. It is too large a matter for our humble powers; we must, therefore, leave it to critics more competent—to critics, who, having less indifference towards the subject than we ourselves, are candid enough to plead guilty of, can approach it with all that knowledge, which, as Helvetius telleth us, interest gives, and indeed alone can give.*—Under this impression, it is our intention, to confine ourselves in the following few pages,—and we promise the reader they shall be but few—to a simple section only of the whole subject:—a section which, whether the reader agree with us or not, we take leave most dogmatically to pronounce the most delectable, simply because it most delighteth us;—we mean the state of the Italian musical drama, as exhibited in this country.

The idea of occupying an occasional evening, by theorizing on our own experiences, first suggested itself to our minds after a perusal of the pleasant little volume at the head of this chapter; and if we are sometimes induced to differ with the noble author, as to his rationale of certain changes which have taken place, we must, at all events, set out by recording the very great satisfaction we have experienced, on the whole, from the perusal of his book. The fact that his lordship does theorize on the statement he records, strips his work of the character of a dry chronicle,—a sort of book we abhor. Whilst perusing his *Reminiscences,* we feel that we are, as it were, commercing with the emanations of a mind accustomed to investigate the sources of its own emotions. We sympathize with his lordship's enthusiasm, even while we differ with some of his doctrines; and as we stumble upon points which have not unfrequently occupied our own thoughts, we feel that Lord Mount-Edgecumbe is precisely the man with whom we should like to have a hard, but by no means an angry, discussion.

The first edition of Lord Mount-Edgecumbe's *Reminiscences,* published anonymously, comprised a period of half a century; the last edition extends the period to sixty years, —a long musical experience certainly. Our own recollection of the opera exceeds a quarter of a century; but all that we retain of our early visits is, the vivid emotion of delight

* Vide Helvetius "De l'Esprit," passim.

with which we listened to the music of the Zauberflöte, then (1811-12) the favourite opera of the season. We have not since heard it; though its recent revival at Drury-lane theatre afforded an opportunity of so doing.*

Lord Mount-Edgecumbe is among those who are of opinion that the Italian musical drama has not escaped that all-pervading deterioration which we hear so much of. He says:—

"So great a change has taken place within these few years, that I can no longer receive from it any pleasure approaching to that which I used to experience. The remembrance of the past is, therefore, much more agreeable than the enjoyment of the present; and I derive the highest gratification, that music can yet afford me, from hearing again, or barely recalling to mind, what gave me such unqualified delight."—*Introduction*, p. viii.

That whilst the character of the singers has, of late years, rather improved than deteriorated, that of the operas produced, has, at the same time, decidedly declined, we apprehend cannot be denied; but, that on the whole, the opera has ceased to be worth attending, as Lord Mount-Edgecumbe asserts, is a proposition to which we cannot agree. The rationale of his Lordship's feeling is well understood by the world. That which delights in childhood, becomes distasteful in manhood; whilst the objects which interest us in manhood, again lose their power over us in age. The "remembrance of the past" is more agreeable than "the enjoyment of the present." Something, then, must be allowed for that natural change which takes place in the human mind, so exquisitely characterized by Byron:—

> "No more!—no more!—oh never more on me,
> The freshness of the heart can fall like dew,
> Which out of all the lovely things we see,
> Extracts emotions, beautiful and new,
> Hived in our bosoms like the bag o' the bee.
> Think'st thou the honey with those objects grew?
> Alas! 'twas not in them, but in thy power
> To double e'en the sweetness of a flower."

There is another circumstance which ought, in fairness, to be taken into the account, and may help to explain his lordship's view of the subject,—a circumstance on which we are disposed to lay great stress. During the period to which

* We may here mention, that from the high character of the music assigned to nearly all the characters, it is almost impossible to do justice to this opera on any stage. It is said to require sixteen or eighteen first-rate singers!

his lordship's little treatise refers, he has been continually refining and improving his musical taste and knowledge; thus he has been continually rendering himself more alive to the faults and abuses of the opera; so that even had the character of the drama, the music, and the performers, somewhat improved, the improvement would not have been apparent to his lordship, unless it had shot rather a-head of the continued refinement of the critic's musical taste. By parity of reasoning, deterioration would appear of two-fold degree.

More than one hundred pages of his lordship's little volume are filled up with a chronological sketch of the opera up to the time of Catalani, when, according to the Reminiscent's opinion, the opera was in the highest state of perfection. With this part of the volume, we have but little to do; nevertheless, we find some of his lordship's criticisms so just—so completely indicative of a refined and cultivated taste—that we cannot avoid making a few extracts. The first we shall offer is a short critique on Braham's singing and compositions, but more especially on the former:—

"Though it seems needless to say much of so well known a performer, yet it is impossible to pass over a singer of Braham's reputation, without some remark. All must acknowledge that his voice is of the finest quality, of great power, and occasional sweetness. It is equally certain that he has great knowledge of music, and *can* sing extremely well. It is, therefore, the more to be regretted that he should ever do otherwise,—that he should ever quit the natural register of his voice, by raising it to an unpleasant falsetto, or force it by too violent exertion;—that he should depart from a good style and correct taste, which he knows and can follow as well as any man, to adopt, at times, the over-florid and frittered Italian manner; at others, to fall into the coarseness and vulgarity of the English. The fact is, he can be two distinct singers, according to the audience before whom he performs; and that to gain applause, he condescends to sing as ill at the playhouse, as he has done well at the opera. His compositions have the same variety; and he can equally write a popular noisy song for the one, or its very opposite for the other. A duetto of his, introduced into the opera of "Gli Orazi," sung by himself and Grassini, had great beauty, and was in excellent taste." —p. 97-8.

Such of our readers as have heard Braham sing, "Comfort ye my people," at an oratorio, and some gallery song, in some such character as Tom Tug, will be sensible of the force of the criticism. Fifteen years since, Braham's execution of "Comfort ye my people," was as near per-

fection as anything we can well imagine; but the roaring of "The Bay of Biscay, oh!" we presume, proves more profitable; so that, after all, the viciousness of taste often, nay, always, of late years, displayed in everything Braham has undertaken, is chargeable chiefly upon his audiences.*

Lord Mount-Edgecumbe has a sort of holy horror of the *wonderful* in execution, in which we most cordially agree. Speaking of Catalani, he says:

"It were to be wished that she was less lavish in the display of those wonderful powers, and sought to please rather than surprise; but her taste is vicious—her excessive love of ornament spoiling every simple air; and her great delight (indeed, her chief merit) being in songs of a bold and spirited character, where much is left to her discretion (or indiscretion) without being confined to the accompaniment, but in which she can indulge in *ad libitum* passages, with a luxuriance and redundancy no other singer ever possessed—or, if possessing, ever practised—and which she carries to a fantastic excess. She is fond of singing variations on some known and simple airs; and latterly, has pushed this taste to the height of absurdity, by singing, even without words, variations composed for the fiddle.......Whenever I hear such an outrageous display of execution, either vocal or instrumental, I never fail to recollect, and cordially join in the opinion of a late noble statesman, more famous for his wit than for love of music, who, hearing a remark on the extreme *difficulty* of some performance, observed, 'that he wished it had been *impossible*.'"†—p. 101.

There is not a single word in the above paragraph to which we should hesitate to subscribe. We never yet heard a *surprising* performer, either vocal or instrumental, who had the power to excite in our mind those vivid emotions which we expect from music in its most perfect state. If we desired to be astonished, we should not dream of seeking it in music, but should straightway visit Signor Hervio Nano, the celebrated man fly, or the Bedouin Arabs, to neither of whom can the most flexible throat ever hope to approach in the power of exciting that feeling. To the opera we go to be delighted, not surprised; and delight we *do* experience in spite of the

* Before a committee of the House of Commons, Braham said he distinguished between the applause he received from the boxes and from the galleries; and declared that the latter was becoming more discriminating from year to year.

† "This *bon mot* has usually been given to Dr. Johnson; but I have reason to know it was said by the noble lord alluded to, of whom a similar one is recorded respecting his distaste for music. Being asked why he did not subscribe to the ancient concerts, and it being urged as a reason for it, that his brother, the bishop of W——— did, 'Oh,' replied his lordship, 'if I were as deaf as my brother, I would subscribe too.'"—Note to p. 101.

many abuses which his lordship points out, and many of which certainly do want reforming.

Lord Mount-Edgecumbe contends, that it was "soon after Catalani's departure that a new era (the era of abuses) began." It appears to us, that his lordship does not prove his case. The existence of the abuses we admit and deplore, but we cannot perceive that they are of modern growth. His lordship himself speaks of Catalani's prevailing vice, and he gives various other instances of malpractices previous to the "new era."

The following is his lordship's statement of the changes of which he complains:—

"The opera in England, for a period of ten years after the departure of Catalani, will afford much less room for observation than any of the preceding, as far as the singers are concerned; for with one or two exceptions, there were not any of whom I feel inclined to say much, because there is not much to be said in their praise. But so great a change has taken place in the character of the dramas, in the style of the music, and in its performance, that I cannot help enlarging a little on that subject before I proceed farther.

"One of the most material alterations is, that the grand distinction between serious and comic operas is nearly at an end, the separation of the singers for their performance entirely so. Not only do the same sing in both, but a new species of drama has arisen—a kind of mongrel between them—called a semi-seria, which bears the same analogy to the other two that that nondescript the melodrama does to the legitimate tragedy and comedy of the English stage. The construction of these newly invented pieces is essentially different from the old. The dialogue, which used to be carried on in recitative, and which in Metastasio's operas is often so beautiful and interesting, is now cut up (and rendered unintelligible if it were worth listening to) into *pezzi concertati*, or long singing conversations, which present a tedious succession of unconnected, ever-changing motions, having nothing to do with each other; and if a satisfactory air is for a moment introduced, which the ear would like to dwell upon, to hear modulated, varied, and again returned to, it is broken off before it is well understood, or sufficiently heard, by a sudden transition into a totally different melody, time, and key, and returns no more; so that no impression can be made, or recollection of it preserved. Simple songs are almost exploded, for which one good reason may be given—that there are few singers capable of singing them. Even a prima donna, who would formerly have complained at having less than three or four airs allotted to her, is now satisfied with one trifling cavatina for a whole opera.

"The acknowledged decline of singing in general (which the Italians themselves are obliged to confess) has, no doubt, in a great measure, occasioned this change. But another cause has certainly

contributed to it; and that is, the difference of the voices of the male performers. Sopranos have long ceased to exist, but tenors for a long time filled their place. Now, even these have become so scarce, that Italy can produce no more than two or three good ones. The generality of voices are basses, which, for want of better, are thrust up into the first characters, even in serious operas, (where they used to occupy the last place,) to the manifest injury of melody, and total subversion of harmony, in which the lowest part is their peculiar province.

"These new first singers are called by the novel appellation of *basso cantante*, (which, by the bye, is a kind of apology, and a sort of acknowledgement, that they ought not to sing,) and take the lead in operas with almost as much propriety as if the double bass were to do so in the orchestra, and take the part of the first fiddle. A bass voice is too unbending and deficient in sweetness for single songs, and fit only for those of inferior character, or of the buffo style. In duettos, it does not coalesce well with the female voice, on account of the too great distance between them; and in fuller pieces, the ear cannot be satisfied without some good, intermediate voices to fill up the interval, and complete the harmony. Yet three or four bass now frequently overpower one weak tenor, who generally plays but a subordinate part."—pp. 118-122.

Some of the evils enumerated in the above extract exist in full force at the present day;* others, we think, are scarcely predicable of the present state of the opera.

The first complaint urged in the above extract, namely, the *almost* total want of distinction between serious and comic operas, and the entire want of distinction among the singers in their performance, does not appear to us to be such an evil as our author supposes. Let us for a moment exclude from our minds the idea of music, and confine ourselves to what is usually called the "legitimate drama," and we shall find that the successful performance of tragedy and comedy by no means requires two distinct sets of actors, who are on no account to encroach upon each other's province. In a tragedy (except in a few cases of domestic tragedy, such, for instance, as the *Gamester*, where every individual in the piece is expected to be perpetually in a dolorous mood, and where the audience is deemed very hard-hearted, if not equally so,) it is not above two, or at the most three, of the characters which require to be filled by decidedly tragic actors. Moreover in most tragedies there is generally room for one, two, or three purely comic actors: all the rest are very worthy personages

* Of the state of the opera during the present season nothing can as yet be predicated; our "present day," therefore, has reference to the last two seasons.

in their way, who are expected to get through the play as their prototypes got through the world—respectably; and who take a sort of medium position—like Garrick in the picture—between comedy and tragedy. The tragedy of *Hamlet*, for instance, has its Polonius and its Grave-digger; in our time played by comic actors, perfect in their kind,—namely, Munden and Emery, and latterly Dowton; whilst the Horatios, and the Cassios, and the Roderigos, and Bernardos, *et id genus omne*, are to be found making up the mass of characters in almost every tragedy and comedy with which we are acquainted. What is wanted is a good working company of general actors—actors of all work, with a few of superior comic powers, and still fewer of high tragic powers.

Now if this be true of the acting drama, it is still more true of the opera, where the structure of the *libretto* is much more inartificial; the story being more simple, the characters fewer in number, and the plot and incidents much less complicated. Had we been called upon to say what we conceived to be the sort of drama best adapted for the opera, we should certainly have given the preference to that species of mixed drama which his lordship deprecates. In such mixed dramas the serious will in some cases predominate, the comic in others; and this, we take it, is all the distinction that ever did prevail, except in some rare cases, such as the opera of *Agnes*, (a musical tragedy, as domestic as the *Gamester*,) on the one hand; and some few, which are so ultra comic, as to rank as farces rather than comedies, such, for instance, as *La Prova d'un Opera Seria*, on the other. To keep a distinct company for these extremes would involve an expense which would, we fear, tend to impair the excellence of both, and deteriorate the opera in all its departments.

That too little attention is paid to the structure of the drama, is an evil which we greatly deplore. The plot, in many cases, is so extremely confused as to amount to no plot at all. *I Puritani* is a sample of this. It is not until the opera has made very considerable progress, that the whole scheme is indicated. It is, indeed, wonderful how so much confusion can be produced with so small a number of characters; the more especially as the whole opera is busied in working out no more than a couple of incidents.

With the language of the libretti generally we have but little to quarrel, neither does Lord Mount-Edgecumbe find much fault with it, confining his condemnation to the new dramas written for Rossini's music. The language of the

libretto is for the most part extremely simple, though impassioned. Variety of expression is very properly left where it should be—to the music; and lastly, the prosody of the language is especially attended to—a point which all but the Italians and the Germans entirely neglect.*

There is an absurdity common enough in our English operas, which the Italians generally, though we are sorry to say not always, avoid. We mean some such an incident as this:—Two sighing lovers are persecuted by a cruel tyrant—a powerful rival or a guardian, for instance; they fly, are closely pursued, reach within a single step of the point of safety, and are just congratulating themselves thereon, when the tyrant's footsteps are heard. Hereupon occurs a little stage hurry-scurry. The lovers rush tumultuously round the stage three several times, passing at each turn the point which lead to safety. Suddenly the lover stops, begins to sing something about tyrants and chains, and love and chains, drawing, of course, a most beautiful epigrammatic contrast between the two sorts of chains, which makes the lady simper amazingly. All this time the tyrant's footsteps are arrested. At length the song is over, when the footsteps are heard again. Hereupon there is more hurry-scurry, the lovers circumnavigate the stage three times more, and at length actually do escape, by a path or way that has been open to them all the while. This done, the "cruel tyrant" enters, treats their escape as something almost supernatural, and sings a song—a bass song, of course—telling the audience what he would have done if he had caught them. We have sometimes heard a child put a natural question concerning a scene of this kind, which embodied a just criticism on the practice from which the Italian drama is tolerably free.

Thus, then, our conclusion is, that as regards the mere structure of the drama, considered as a vehicle for the higher order of musical compositions, Lord Mount-Edgecumbe has scarcely made out his case. Turn we now to the performers, and musical composers, and their productions.

Taking the more recent half of the period of his lordship's reminiscences, which may be said to date from the commencement of his new era, we find him carefully reviewing the talents and acquirements of the principal singers who have occupied prominent positions on the opera stage. Those who

* The last we heard of poor Bellini, a short time before his death, was, that he was residing in the neighbourhood of Paris, and studying the prosody of the French language, in order to compose an opera to a French drama.

have been fortunate enough to engage his lordship's attention, and to be deemed worthy of his praise, are far from numerous. Among the females we find, Fodor, Camporese, Ronzi de Begnis, Caradori, Pasta, and the Signorina Garcia, (the lamented Malibran) at her first appearance. The talents of all of these are characterized with discrimination, and in most cases—Ronzi de Begnis, Camporese, and Pasta, for instance—lauded to an extent somewhat to shake his lordship's doctrine of deterioration. To the exquisite taste and lady-like manner of Camporese, in particular, ample justice is done; but though considerable praise is bestowed upon Pasta, his lordship appears to us scarcely to appreciate her great powers as an actress as well as a musician. To our mind, no one since the best days of Siddons has at all approached her in *action.* We can conceive nothing more classical and chaste than her performance of Medea. With every disadvantage of figure and stature, she managed to throw into the part a degree of dignity, which, excepting the great name we have ventured to introduce as a standard of comparison, we cannot associate with our recollection of any other actress.*

Of her singing, whether we consider it in reference to taste, knowledge, or execution, we can pay it no higher compliment than to say, that it bears the severest comparison with her acting; indeed, taking the sum of her qualifications, both natural and acquired, we doubt if the musical world has on any occasion seen her equal. Even with the recollection of that exquisite piece of acting and singing—the *Amina* of Malibran—fresh in our mind, we can recal no pleasureable emotions equal to those which Pasta has excited.

The mention of Malibran induces us to give our author's record of her first appearance in this country as little more than a child, and to append thereto some recollections of our own:—

" —— In order to repair these losses, (those of Ronzi de Begnis and Camporese,) it became necessary to engage a young singer, daughter of the tenor Garcia, who had sung here for several seasons. She was as yet a mere girl, and had never appeared on any public stage; but from the first moment of her appearance she showed evident talents for it, both as a singer and as an actress. Her extreme youth, her prettiness, her pleasing voice, and sprightly, easy

* One of the most finished public speakers of the present day, unfortunately for the country not at this moment in the House of Commons, informed the writer of this article, that he had derived some hints as to gesture from this distinguished actress.

action, as Rosina, in the *Barbiere di Seviglia*, in which part she made her debût, gained her general favour; but she was too highly extolled, and injudiciously put forward as a prima donna, when she was only a very promising debutante, who in time, by study and practice, would, in all probability, under the tuition of her father, a good musician, but (to my ears, at least,) a most disagreeable singer, rise to eminence in her profession. But in the following year she went, with her whole family, (all of whom, old and young, are singers, *tant bons que mauvais*,) to establish an Italian opera in America; where, it is said, she is married, so that she will probably never return to this country, if to Europe."

We may here mention that the establishment of the Italian Opera at New York created, as it was likely to do, a complete revolution in taste, or more properly speaking, it generated a taste for the higher order of musical composition. After Garcia's visit, all the singing young ladies of the place, and they are almost as numerous as in London, abandoned "We're a Noddin," and "Home, sweet Home," for "Di piacer," and "Una voce poco fa." There was a corresponding improvement in manner; in short, the musical world took its tone from the Garcia family.

That Malibran *did* return to Europe, arose out of the unfortunate character of her marriage. She was really taken in. Her husband had engaged deeply in the speculative mania of 1825, was irretrievably involved at the time of his marriage, and failed very shortly after. Suspicion arose that in marrying her he merely speculated on her talent; a separation took place, and ultimately they were divorced. She afterwards married De Beriot, a violin player of considerable talent, with whom, we believe, she lived happily until her untimely loss; an event which created a marked sensation throughout Europe and America.

Apologising to the reader for this short history, which somewhat breaks in upon our subject, we shall merely add, that several male singers at the same time receive his lordship's praise, especially De Begnis, Curione, and Zuchelli, and (as actors) Ambrogetti and Naldi. Zuchelli's voice, his lordship characterises as the richest, mellowest, and most flexible basso voice he ever heard, and the merits of the others are pointed out with his usual discrimination; every word of his praise, be it observed, going against his theory of the deterioration of the singers.

We now approach his lordship's definite complaint of the extinction of sopranos (male), the paucity of tenors, and the

increased business assigned to the bassos, as stated in the long extract given at page 534.

In the first place, we must candidly avow that a difficulty stands in the way of our judgment on the first of the above three points, inasmuch as the class of singers alluded to was lost to the Anglo-Italian stage long before our time; with one recent exception, which, as we never happened to be in England when he was performing, it was not our fortune to hear. Nevertheless we cannot conceive that the association of a pleasurable emotion with voices of that class, can possibly belong to a sound and healthy taste. In speaking of Veluti's first appearance, Lord Mount-Edgecumbe himself admits, that the first sound of his voice produced a *shock* upon the audience, for which they were wholly unprepared, although packed for the occasion, and pledged to support the singer. Such voices violate all our associations, and Lord Mount-Edgecumbe himself grieves, that an interval of twenty-five years had proved too strong for his ancient associations in favour of "the divine Pacchierotte;" and when he again listened to a voice of that class, though he admitted it was a good one, it is easy to perceive his lordship could not conceal his disgust.

With regard to the second complaint, we cannot help thinking it is not that tenors have become really scarce, but that good bassos have become more plentiful.

In the old operas, his lordship tells us, nothing of any importance was written for the basso, who had a low part assigned to him, being generally a mere comic actor. Now, the basso is always a singer, and frequently a first-rate singer. The very phrase *basso cantante*, as the reader will have seen, his lordship treats as an apology for setting the basso to sing. Granting the change, we cannot join his lordship in condemning it. We should not object to an orchestra wherein all the double basses were Dragonettis—all the violoncelli, Lindleys. A man, gifted with a basso voice of a good quality, who should cultivate it highly, would naturally demand that contemporary composers should write for him. The public, too, would back this demand, and thus would arise the basso cantante. The basso part of several operas being thus elevated to the singer, and not the singer "thrust up into the first characters," a new inducement would be afforded to cultivate other basso voices. Let it be for a moment supposed, that a Tamburini had sprung up among the old, unimportant bassos; would he not immediately

have demanded of a Mozart or a Bellini an appropriate part? Between the question and the answer there is not room even for a momentary doubt. If this single Tamburini had kept possession of the stage for a few years, so as to give time for the production of several operas with basso-cantante parts, would not this circumstance, together with the popularity of the singer, have excited competitors? Evidently so. It is the Tamburinis and the Lablaches who give importance to the parts, as the Dragonettis and the Lindleys call into notice their previously half-neglected instruments. To compare the position occupied by the great singers whose names we have made to stand for a class, with "the double-bass playing the part of the fiddle in the orchestra" is egregiously over-strained.

Lord Mount-Edgecumbe seems to have a faint glimmering of what we take to be the true rationale of the improved character of basso voices, where he expresses surprise that the part of Il Don Giovanni should be written for a basso instead of a tenor, but at the same time suggests that it must have been written *expressly for some celebrated singer.* Just so. A singer of peculiar powers will make it worth a manager's while to have parts prepared, calculated for the exhibition of those powers; after which the said parts will, as we have stated, stand as a point of attraction, as it were, for calling forth similar powers wheresoever they may be to be found.

Besides this set of consequences, as likely to flow from a single instance of a superior basso, we may observe, that the public taste may receive a direction from the same cause. Take Lablache as an instance. To a bass voice of vast, of unparalleled power and volume, he adds a perfect knowledge of his art in every branch. It is easy to perceive that he is a great favourite. Now there may be other men with similar voices not yet called forth; but until public opinion had pronounced itself, the inducement to cultivate them was but small.

Taking the opera company of the last season, Lablache and Tamburini, Rubini and Ivanoff,* Grisi, Persiani, Assandri,

* At the Philharmonic Concert of April 22, Ivanoff sang Mozart's exquisite air of "O Cara Imagine," from *Il Flauto Magico*, in a manner but little short of perfection. The "Spectator" of the 25th of April, (the only paper in London the musical criticisms of which are worth reading, and they are excellent,) observes thereon: "Ivanoff's song was perfectly beautiful. The chaste simplicity with which he delivered Mozart's exquisite passages, the sweetness and purity of his tone, and the truth of his expression, combined to stamp on this performance the character of faultless excellence."

together with Catone, Brambilla, and some others who performed the opera buffa at the Lyceum, we certainly cannot subscribe to his lordship's lamentation as to any want of good voices; moreover, when we reflect that Begrez is still among us, (though he has long been unconnected with the opera,) we should say, that our command of tenors especially, is quite adequate to our wants.

We now come to the last ground of complaint, namely, the altered character of the modern operas, considered as musical compositions. In many respects we entirely agree with his lordship's remarks. In his condemnation of the noise of some of our modern operas, we heartily join with him; but we cannot sympathize with his somewhat exclusive enthusiasm in favour of the quiet and even tenour of Paësiello's productions. From the manner in which his lordship dwells on the unadorned simplicity of the school which he so much admires, he cannot well avoid a feeling of regret that the arch-reformer, Mozart, should have broken in upon the dreamy sweetness of the writers who preceded him. Exquisite has been the enjoyment which we ourselves have derived from Paësiello's compositions;* but it is, at the same time, less in degree that the gratification we have experienced from the richness and great variety of *Il Don Giovanni*, *Figaro*, *La Clemenza de Tito*, and *Cosi fan tutti*, perfect as they are in all their varieties; from the highly wrought concerted pieces, (exquisitely harmonised as they are, and never noisy, as in some of Rossini's *pezzi concertati*,) to the simple melody of *Vedrai Carino*, or *Batti, batti, o bel Masetto*.

The fact is, the public taste has long ceased to be satisfied with the simple compositions with which it used formerly to be content. It admires simplicity still; but not with an exclusive and undivided passion. It demands a more spirit-stirring variety, which is not only agreeable in itself, but seems to render occasional simplicity more appreciable. For this reason it is that Mozart's operas retain their hold upon the public mind, excluded though they be from the opera stage.

Lord Mount-Edgecumbe regrets the "cutting up" of the dialogue, which used to be carried on in recitative into *pezzi concertati*. In this regret the musical public will not go with him, and moreover, will dispute, along with us, every inch

* Especially in private concerts.

of the ground his lordship takes up. Mind, it is not at present a question between good and bad concerted pieces; but between the presence and absence of such pieces. Harmonized music is what is especially looked for. The public has been long enough accustomed to it to appreciate it, and to be unwilling to part with it: and its best defence, as compared with the long recitative dialogue is, that it is more essentially *music* ; in other words, it is what people go to the opera to hear.

The abuse of the pezzo-concertato, and more especially of the chorus, is another matter. We doubt much if the chorus be adapted to the stage ; and if used at all, should certainly be resorted to but sparingly. The *Siege of Corinth*, as performed the year before last at Drury-lane, affords a sample of the abuse of the chorus; the whole opera is a perpetual series of noisy, brazen, distracting choruses, to which the following just remarks are especially applicable :—

"It is really distressing to hear the leading voice strained almost to cracking, in order to be audible over a full chorus, strengthened often by trombones, trumpets, kettle-drums, and all the noisiest instruments. I confess that I derive little or no pleasure from these pieces, which, to my ears, are scarcely music, but mere noise."—p. 124.

Our mind recurs with pleasure to some few choruses which contrast finely with those of the noisy class, which we view with distaste equal to that which is displayed in the above extract. Two especially occur to us, as being models of the kind of composition now under review. They are, first, the trio and chorus in the first act of Der Freischütz, beginning, "Oh diese sonne,"* and the exquisite aria and chorus, "Ah, grazzie si rendano," in *La Clemenza di Tito.* In both these cases, the chorus, exquisite in its intrinsic character, is kept in due subordination to the principal part. In Weber's chorus especially, where it is with the principals; it aids and accompanies, rather than overloads and oppresses, and as it occasionally is lulled, the beautiful tenor part of Max seems to burst forth with renewed sweetness. The same feature is observable in Mozart's aria and chorus. This is the class of chorus which should alone find a place in the musical drama;—those of the noisy and brazen kind, we are ready, at any time, to join Lord Mount-Edgcumbe in laying in the Red Sea.

It appears then to us that there are enough of good

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* In the English opera of the same name, "O dread to-morrow."

operas, and of good singers too, if there did but exist the determination to use them properly. Besides the *dii minores*, the opera company, when "the season" shall have commenced in earnest, will consist of two unparalleled basses, three tenors, and three, or perhaps four sopranos, with Giulietta Grisi at their head.* With this company, Mozart's best operas might be produced *without retrenchment*, whilst Bellini's would scarcely require above half the corps. Nothing stands in the way of putting the opera on a most attractive footing, except the want of a competent manager. There may be faults in the public taste; but they do not run to the extent of preferring bad operas to good. The opera visitors will always appreciate good operas. Mozart ranks uppermost in the public mind; and that we hear so little of his music, is owing to the lamentable fact, that the opera has for many years fallen into the hands of a *trading*, and not a *musical* manager. Lord Mount-Edgecumbe's catalogue of the qualifications which a manager should possess, are certainly most formidable. A manager, according to his lordship, should be,

"Conversant with the Italian stage, a good judge of music and singers, acquainted with foreign languages and usages, of liberal ideas, not sparing of expense, but judicious in the application of it; knowing what is right, and firm in exercising his authority to enforce it; in short, one who can act for himself, and not be dependant on the ignorance or bad faith of subordinate agents. Such a one only can carry on the business of the theatre with success, and give the English public a really good Italian opera."

With such a manager,—but where, alas! is he to be found?—all minor difficulties would vanish. As the performers could not but respect his judgment, so they would implicitly obey his dicta. The much talked of quarrels of the women for precedence, would subside, and, above all, there would be no such thing as mistaking what is really the manager's own bad taste, for that of the public. It is quite impossible that a non-musical manager can have authority with highly instructed musicians. He must appeal in many cases to some one possessed of such knowledge; hence, he is liable to be influenced by the petty jealousies of a singer, instead of relying on his own unbiassed judgment. Under such circumstances, his must be a partizan management.

To an ill-instructed manager, who does not know his

* The great difficulty now seems to be, to find a competent contralto.

business, it is, doubtless, both cheap and convenient to occupy the season chiefly with one popular opera. Last year we had *I Puritani* night after night, until the public grew well nigh tired of it. What is wanted is, a better selection from the works of Mozart, Beethoven, Cimarosa, Rossini, Bellini, and others, excluding Donizetti, and taking especial care that the best works of the master are chosen, instead of the worst. With a "moderate reform" of this kind, the public will have but small cause to lament over the state of the Italian Musical Drama.

Art. XII.—*Summary Review of French Catholic Literature, from* October 1838, to April 1839.

SINCE our last account of French literature, three new periodicals have been presented to our notice; the *Revue du Nord de la France*, a monthly journal published at Lille, which is wholly dedicated to religious subjects, and conducted with much ability, and in a highly Catholic spirit; the *Tablettes du Chrétien*, a weekly periodical, destined for the advancement of religious instruction among every class of persons, an object which the nature of its matter, and the low price at which it is sold, (12 *fr. per ann.*) are well calculated to ensure; each number contains instructions on the feast or gospel of the day; a meditation for every day of the week; a sketch, historical, religious, or catechetical; facts interesting to religion; an account of new books. On the first Sunday of each month, it contains an article on the points of Catholic belief; on the second, a portrait of a saint or pontiff; on the third, a piece of edifying religious intelligence; on the fourth, a relation of the Association for the Propagation of the Faith. The third periodical to which we have alluded, is more limited in its object, but not less religious or less interesting to the cause of charity, than the other two. The *Ami des Sourds-muets, (5 fr. per ann.)* conducted by M. Piroux, director of the deaf and dumb asylum at Nancy, professes to explain the manner in which the deaf and dumb may be comforted and relieved, and the way in which they ought to be treated. M. Piroux is a man of considerable experience in the treatment of these persons, and his journal is worthy of the encouragement and support of all, both on account of the interest which such a production naturally excites, and the warm affection and tender charity towards these unhappy fellow-creatures, which breathethroughout the writings of the editor.

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

Introduction historique et critique aux Livres de l'ancien et du

nouveau Testament, 5 vols. 12mo. M. Glaire, professor of Hebrew to the Faculty of Theology at Paris, has undertaken in the present work, of which the first volume has already appeared, to give a general and particular introduction to the Bible, and to explain the rules of scriptural interpretation, against the system upheld by the rationalist writers of Germany. The first volume contains a general introduction to the books of the Old and New Testament, and treats, in six chapters, of the nature, excellence, inspiration, and canonicity of the sacred books; of the original texts and principal version of the polyglotts, the different senses of Scripture, the various methods of interpreting it, and the rules to be followed in interpretation. In two appendices to the sixth chapter, he succinctly explains the false system of exegesis, adopted by rationalists, and refutes their dangerous doctrines. For his account of these writers, he has been indebted to Mr. Rose's work, *The state of Protestantism in Germany described.* The second volume, which is in the press, is a supplement to the first, and embraces a dissertation on biblical archæology, a knowledge of which is so essential to the right understanding of the many allusions to Jewish customs and practices, which occur in the sacred volume. With the third volume will commence the second portion of the work, the particular introduction to each book; and in it will be given the leading questions connected with the Pentateuch, and each of the other historical books of the Old Testament, such as its object, its authenticity, its inspiration, the commentators upon it, &c. The particular introduction to the prophets, and the remaining books of the Old Testament, will form the fourth volume. The fifth will be dedicated to the New Testament. M. Glaire has the advantage of having studied the languages of the east, which are such an important requisite to the interpretation of Scripture, under two of the most celebrated scholars of our times, M. de Sacy, and M. Etienne Quatremère.

Etudes sur le texte des Pseaumes, 4 vols, 8vo. M. Nolhac of Lyons, the author of the present work, published, a few years ago, a similar work on Isaias. In the present work, he has endeavoured to show, that the proper method of arriving at the sense of many parts of the Psalms, is by going back to the time when they were sung in the Temple. He does not think that the Jews, in singing them, invariably followed the system of alternate choirs, but that the music was executed by a Coryphæus, and a band of singers and musicians. He therefore suggests some changes in the division of the verses, and supposes, that by the study which he has made of the Psalms, he has discovered allusions to the history and customs of the Jewish people. In a preliminary discourse, he treats of the manner of singing the Psalms; of the union of poetry, music and the dance in ancient feasts; the duties of the coryphæus and the choir; of the distribution of the Psalms, &c. This discourse displays a diligent study of the Psalms, both in the original and in the different versions; and the author expresses his belief, that the Jews are

not chargeable with having altered the original text. He advances the opinion, that St. Jerome had not sufficiently studied the manners of the ancient nations with whom the Jews came in contact. The Psalms are distributed through the four volumes of which the work consists; there are twenty-nine in the first volume: the second volume brings us down to the sixty-eighth psalm; the third to psalm one hundred and eight, and the fourth concludes the psalter. To each psalm are added a preamble, and numerous philological and critical notes.

Catéchisme raisonnée sur la Sainteté et la Dignité du Mariage, 18mo. The author of this work, M. Vairon, curate of Geneva, has been convinced, by an experience of thirty years, that the profanation of the holy sacrament of matrimony, is one of the chief causes of many of the disorders which afflict religion, and are the bane of families. He has, therefore, deemed it advisable to collect into one book, the principles and maxims of the Church, respecting the dignity and sanctity of marriage; and has written his work in the form of a catechism, to render it more adapted to the level of ordinary understandings. It contains thirty-four chapters, which treat of the dignity of marriage, of the necessary dispositions and purity of intention requisite for receiving the sacrament, of impediments, dispensations, confession, the duties of married people, the education of children, &c.

The author speaks likewise of the holiness of celibacy, of mixed and civil marriages, unfolds the doctrine of the Church upon celibacy and virginity, and shows the dangers resulting to religion, from mixed marriages.

Lettre sur la Présence réelle. In this small publication, M. Dolet establishes the doctrine of the real presence of our Lord in the blessed Eucharist; his chief object has been to provide his flock with an antidote against the poisonous works, so industriously scattered by the emissaries of the Bible Society.

Histoire de Notre Seigneur Jésus Christ, 2 vols. 8vo. It is a sufficient commendation to this work, to mention, that it is a translation from the German of the illustrious convert, the Count de Stolberg.

Collection des Ouvrages de Frédéric Schlegel. The translation of the works of this eminent philosopher, fills nine volumes, though any single work may be had separately. *The History of Ancient and Modern Literature*, 2 vols. 8vo. 14 francs. *Philosophy of Life*, 2 vols. 8vo. 15 francs. *Philosophy of History*, 2 vols. 8vo. 12 francs. (This work has been translated into English, by Mr. Robertson.) *Essay on the Philosophy of the Indians*, 1 vol. 8vo. 7 francs 50c. *Modern History*, 2 vols. 8vo. 15 francs. The complete work costs only 45 francs.

Le Siècle jugé par la Foi, ou des mœurs, de la morale et de la religion, 8vo. *Cours abrégé de Géologie, destiné aux gens du monde, ou Développement du Tableau de l'état du globe.* M. Nerée Boubée,

whose preceding work on *Elementary Geology* advances the proofs of the deluge, and demonstrates the accordance of this science with Scripture history, has undertaken, in the present work, to explain the highest philosophical questions of Geology, in a manner adapted to every understanding. The first part, now published, forms one volume, 8vo. (4 fr.) It contains a complete treatise upon the fundamental principles of Geology, and is enriched with coloured illustrations.

De la Cosmogonie de Moïse comparée aux Faits géologiques, 1 vol. 8vo. M. Marcel de Serres, is professor of Mineralogy and Geology at Montpellier, and is already known to the public by his geological discoveries. He has in the present work boldly proclaimed his opinion, that the narrative of Moses, although not written as a geological treatise, but solely for the purpose of unfolding to the Jewish people the infinite power displayed in the works of the creation, contains notions of the formation of the world, the justice whereof modern discoveries daily tend to establish and confirm. It is a learned work, which may be consulted with fruit, and which will contribute considerably to the glory of religion, and the progress of the science of which the author is a distinguished professor.

We are happy to perceive that the encouragement afforded to the edition of *St. Chrysostome*, published by M. Gaume of Paris, has induced them to undertake a reprint of the works of St. Bernard, in four volumes, 8vo., and of St. Basil, in Greek and Latin, in six volumes, 8vo. both from the editions of the Benedictines, with the addition of some new *opuscula*, discovered since their time. It is stated in the prospectus, that they will both be completed during the present year; and the price is fixed at thirty francs for St. Bernard, and sixty-six for St. Basil, to subscribers.

Conférences sur le Protestantisme. M. A. Nettement has translated the lectures delivered by the Rev. Dr. Wiseman, at St. Mary's Moorfields, three years ago, and has prefixed to them an essay on the progress of Catholicism in England. The first volume (7 francs) is already published.

Concordantiæ Librorum Sacrorum, 40 francs, pp. 1520. This new edition of the concordance of the vulgate has been superintended by M. Dutripon, and it possesses many advantages not to be found in the common editions, besides containing twenty thousand additional texts, and a variety of tables connected with the chronology and history of the Bible.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Two new works on the *History of the Church*, have been announced; one by the Abbé Blanc, professor of Theology and Ecclesiastical History at the College Stanislas at Paris. It will fill three volumes, 8vo. the first of which is to be published in June. It will be followed by a dissertation on the History of the Church, by the Abbé Gerbet. The other work is by the Abbé Receveur,

professor of Dogmatic Theology at the Sorbonne. It will extend to six volumes 8vo. three of which will appear during the present year.

Manuel des Dates en forme de Dictionnaire, 1 vol. 8vo. 8 francs. M. de Chantal proposes, in this work, to supply a book of reference for the use of the student, upon the most important points of chronology. The book contains the dates of the leading events of modern and ancient history, such as the foundation of cities, political revolutions, wars, battles, and sieges, as well as councils, synods, heresies, &c.; the dates of the most interesting discoveries and inventions in the arts and sciences; of laws and treaties; of all remarkable natural phenomena, earthquakes, eruptions, epidemics, &c.; dates connecting the most celebrated individuals in history, the sovereign pontiffs, doctors of the Church, founders of orders, warriors, &c.

Histoire du Bas Empire, depuis l'avènement de Constantin le Grand, jusqu'à la prise de Constantinople par Mahomet II. The accomplished authoress compiled this work for the use of the pupils at the house of the Sacred Heart, and it is a triumphant defence of the excellence of the system of education pursued in that and other similar institutions, for the instruction of youth. The highest praise that we can give it, is to say that it is written with extreme correctness and precision, and with a neatness of style, which charms and interests the reader. A few trifling faults, such as the want of chronological tables, and some traces of hurry in writing, are hardly worth mentioning, save to express the hope that they will be corrected in another edition.

Louis-le-Pieux et son siècle, 2 vols. 8vo. 15 francs. M. Frantin has chosen a difficult but noble subject for his theme. He has chosen a period fertile in great events; when the empire of Charlemagne,—in its vastness and magnificence, almost a type of that great empire on the ruins whereof it had been formed,—was disjointed and severed by its arbitrary division into new and independant states; it is an epoch that unfolds to us the spirit of faction and of ambition, contending for a share of the spoil; the development of the feudal system; the last inroads of those hordes of barbarous tribes, that had annihilated the Roman empire; the decay of the kingdom of the Franks, and the rise of a new nation and a new language. Nor are there wanting more peaceful events, on which the historian may rest, when weary with the intrigues and turbulence of faction and war, such as the monastic reform introduced by St. Benedict, of Anian, the foundation of the celebrated monastery of Corbie, and the glorious conquests of religion, in the conversion of so many of the northern nations. Illustrious pontiffs, and bishops and men of learning, pass in review before us, and fill up the episodes in the vast political drama represented by the historian. Such are Gregory IV, Rabanus Maurus, Paschasius Radbertus, St. Anschar the apostle of Denmark and Sweden, and Eginhard. Then comes the

monarch himself, whom posterity has judged so severely. His differences with the Pope bring to view the first germ of that superiority of the spiritual over the temporal power, of mind over matter, which was afterwards developed by St. Gregory VII and his illustrious and calumniated successor, Innocent III. M. Frantin has discharged his duty in a manner worthy of the high reputation, which his former work, *Les Annales du Moyen Age*, so justly gained him.

Souvenirs de la Congrégation de Notre Dame. These *Souvenirs* present an edifying account of fourteen young ladies, who have died between the years 1823 and 1837, in the religious house of the above named congregation, in the Rue de Sèvres, at Paris. Appended to one of the lives is a notice of the conversion of an English lady, who taught English in the house, and of a German lady; both of whom were converted by the prayers and conversation of the subject of it.

Vie et Lettres spirituelles de Madame de Cadrieu, 12mo. The subject of this book was born in 1703, and died in 1730. Her letters are full of the most exalted spirituality, and several miracles are said to have been wrought through her intercession, since her death.

Chronique d'Einsidlen, 8vo. By Joseph Régnier. This Chronicle of the famous Abbey of Einsidlen, the glory of Switzerland, and familiar to all the readers of the "Broadstone of Honour," has been compiled from the authentic archives kept in the Abbey. It is divided into two parts; the first embraces the history of the foundation and the biography of its abbots and other remarkable personages; the second contains the account of the Abbey and the pilgrimages performed to it. It details the history of its different vicissitudes, from its foundation by the holy hermit Meinrad, who was murdered in 863, to the present Abbot, who is the forty-ninth from that time. We have the account of their successive endeavours to improve the condition of the neighbouring country; the town which they have raised around the Abbey; the famous *Devil's bridge* thrown over the Sylle in 1112, which connected two strange cantons together; the gradual decline of the Abbey by the apostacy of one of its Abbots, and the want of the monastic spirit in others; its return to its ancient fervour and glory; the dispersion of its inmates during the French revolution, when they departed, bearing in secret to a safe place the miraculous statue of Our Lady of the Hermits, in whose honour so many thousands of pilgrims annually visit the Abbey; and finally, their return during the brief period of peace, and the restoration of the chapel of Our Lady in 1817. The history of this Abbey is a chronicle of the immense services rendered by it to the canton of Schwytz, and it forms an irrefragable defence of the utility of monastic institutions, against the attacks of the so-called liberal party in Switzerland. The Abbey has given rise to a town of 2,400 inhabitants. It has an hospital for the poor of the district. The principal portion of the Abbey is a square

building, four hundred and sixteen feet (French) in length, and four hundred and eighty in depth. The church is in the centre. It contains a library, rooms for boarders, the seminary, and the cells of the monks. The Holy Chapel, with the statue of Our Lady, is in the middle of the church. It has been the resort of pilgrims from a very early date. Cities and corporations used to send deputations thither, and the emperor Otho visited it in 965. The number of pilgrims is calculated at 120,000 in each year, and among them are the names of prelates, princes and nobles of the highest rank.

Vie du bienheureux Pierre Fourier, curé de Maittaincourt. This saint was born in 1564, at Mirecourt in Lorraine. He studied at the University of Pont-à-Mousson, and was ordained priest in 1589. He was appointed curate of Mattaincourt in 1597, and established there an association of pious females, who were to employ themselves in the visitation of the sick and the instruction of youth. This was the origin of the congregation of Our Lady, which was formed into a religious order by Paul V in 1615. It went on gradually increasing, and at the death of the founder in 1640, it possessed fifty houses. The saint was beatified by Benedict XIII in 1730. The life is written with great care, and contains an interesting account of the virtues and miracles of the holy man.

Biographie Catholique, ou histoire des hommes qui se sont le plus distingués par leurs vertus chrétiennes, leurs fonctions ecclésiastiques, leurs écrits religieux, &c., disposée en ordre chronologique. The Abbé de Genoude has collected around him a society of some of the most learned men in France, to assist in the composition of this work, and many others are expected to contribute to the forthcoming volume, the third of the series. His object is to supply a complete magazine of dates and important facts connected with the personages whose lives, writings or actions, form the leading portion of ecclesiastical history, and to represent their characters divested of the shades of prejudice which modern writers have cast around them. The price of each volume (8vo.) is nine francs.

Essai sur les écrits politiques de Christine de Pisan, suivi d'un notice littéraire et de pièces inédites; 5 francs. M. Raimond Thomassy has here presented to the public an interesting account of the life and writings of this extraordinary woman, who was the ornament of the court of Charles V, and his successor Charles VI of France, and the envy of neighbouring princes. Henry IV of England endeavoured in vain to draw her to his court, and Galeasso Visconti, duke of Milan, was equally unsuccessful. After the death of her husband, she sought consolation in the study of the classics and the composition of her numerous works. More than once she interposed between contending parties of the nobility, and by letters to the members of the royal family, laboured to effect a reconciliation between them. Besides these, she composed, she tells us, "fifteen of her principal works, without counting other little books, which fill seventy large sheets, between 1399 and 1405." The chief of

these is her "*Gestes et bonnes Mœurs de Charles-le-Sage.*" Her style is remarkable for its simplicity and earnestness, and her writings are full of the most elevated sentiments. "The biographer of Christine," said M. Michelet in a recent lecture at Paris, "whom some may perhaps charge with exaggerating the importance of the subject of his excellent work, has, nevertheless, described with equal freedom and feeling the important part which a woman succeeded in bearing at that epoch, by presenting a continual model of diligence, talent and virtue. It is certainly one of the most interesting biographical works we possess."

INSTRUCTION AND DEVOTION.

Catéchisme à l'usage du diocese du Mans. The excellent bishop of this diocese, feeling the want of an abridged catechism for the use of his flock, composed a short time back a plan of one calculated to supply this deficiency. He forwarded a copy of it to each of the priests of his vast diocese, requesting them to favour him with their suggestions on the means of improving it. His invitation was responded to by many of them, and a commission was appointed to examine and put in order the results of their opinions; and the present work is the fruit of their united labours. The first sixteen pages contain an abridgment of the history of the Old and New Testament and of the Church. The work is then divided into three parts, 1st. the truths of religion; 2nd. morality and sins; 3rd. the sacraments and prayer. Under these heads, which do not occupy more than ninety pages, a complete, though brief account of the doctrines and duties of faith is given: and the book is a satisfactory compendium of the instructions and prayers that are necessary for all Christians.

L'Art de traiter avec Dieu, 1 vol. 18mo. By Father Rogacci, S. J. There are, observes the author, two classes of Christians; habitual sinners, and those who endeavour to avoid every kind of sin, however slight. For the latter the present book is written. The servile fear into which they are apt to fall, is dangerous to them; and in order to make them persevere, as they have begun, their heart must be opened to confidence and they must learn to look upon God as a child looks upon his father. The author proceeds to explain the snares which the devil lays for such souls, by the fears and anxieties into which he seeks to cast them; and teaches them to seek an antidote in a generous and confiding love of God. To all those who are troubled with such disquiet and difficulties in the way of salvation, this book cannot but prove highly acceptable.

Nouvelle Année Apostolique, ou Instructions familières pour les dimanches et fêtes de l'Année, 4 vols. 18mo., six francs.

Consolations du sanctuaire, ou Méditations avant et après la sainte Communion, 2 vols. 18mo. 3 francs, 50 cents. M. Auber, in a style remarkable for its loftiness and clearness, has shown in this book the sublime morality and deep devotion inspired by the Holy Sacrament of the altar.

La dévotion du Sacré Cœur de Jesus proposée aux enfans. The author of this book has conceived the happy idea of familiarizing the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus to children, by proposing for their imitation the examples which He was pleased to give in His blessed infancy.

Mois du Sacré Cœur de Jesus. The devotions contained in this book are divided into thirty-three days, in honour of the years of the life of Jesus.

Mes Souvenirs; Précis de ma Conversion. This book contains an interesting account of the conversion of an English lady to the Catholic faith. Her father was related to the late and present Duke of Marlborough and to the Earl of Spencer. We strongly recommend the perusal of these *Souvenirs;* they describe with great force and beauty the difficulties which she had to contend against on the part of her family, and the powerful attractions of divine grace in the work of her conversion.

Manuel d'Instructions et de prières à l'usage de l'Archiconfrerie du Sacré Cœur de Marie, établie dans l'église paroissiale de Notre Dame-des-Victoires à Paris.—We have presented to us in this book, an account of the labours of one, who, after having renounced a rich patrimony on behalf of the poor, has established a confraternity, under the protection of Our Lady, which has been approved by the Holy See, and has been blessed wlth the most wonderful manifestations of divine grace displayed towards its members.

Divers Essais pour enseigner les verités fondamentales de la religion aux personnes qui ne peuvent pas apprendre la lettre du catéchisme. Par M. l'Evêque de Belley. These essays are seven in number, and are intended to teach pastors the method of instructing different classes of persons, who are unable to read, in the chief doctrines and practices of faith. The first is for a shepherd or labourer in the country; the second for a young man who has learned a few prayers and the heads of the catechism, such as the commandments, the creed, &c., but who neither understands their meaning nor is capable of learning the catechism; the third for a farmer, whose ideas are ever running upon his farm and the means of disposing of his stock; the fourth for that class of peasants to whom much may be taught by means of pious pictures; the fifth for a soldier, on the point of marriage, who is full of the ridicule and slanders he has heard uttered against religion and the priesthood; the sixth is for two young persons, of about eighteen years of age, to whose education some care has been paid, one being a Protestant, aud the other a Catholic; the seventh contains an abridgment of Christian doctrine extracted from the ritual of the diocese. In each of these essays, the design of the excellent author has been to illustrate and explain the truths of religion from instances and things connected with the calling and state of life of the six different classes of persons of whom we have spoken. The idea is happy, and pastors will do well to consult a work which is the fruit of so much expe-

rience and such intimate acquaintance with the deficiencies in the common methods of instructing the poorer classes in the duties of our holy faith.

Etudes morales et religieuses, 8vo. These meditations were originally composed for private use at different intervals, and are now collected into one volume. They contain many striking thoughts presented in a forcible manner; and the *Rêveries et Méditations* at the end of them are full of touching reflections.

Cours méthodique et complet d'Instruction. Par M. Victor Boreau. The principle on which this book is written is enough to ensure it a favourable consideration. The learned professor lays down that religion and its duties are more important in education than literature and the sciences. Upon this principle his views of history are made to turn in such a manner, that, while every interesting point of history, discovery, or social order, is kept in sight, no event is passed by without yielding some considerations calculated to improve the mind and heart. The *Géographie méthodique* is also upon a new plan; the *Grammar* is a compendious solution of the leading difficulties of languages; the course of *Mythology* gives an account of the theological systems, not only of Greece and Rome, but of India, and the eastern people, &c.; the course of *Natural Philosophy* is illustrated by explanatory plates, and is rendered interesting by the numerous amusing experiments it contains.

Le Livre de la Nature, 4 vols. 12mo. seven francs. The work of Cousin Despréaux, published in 1801, has become a favourite book in the instruction of youth, by its varied views of nature and its method of adapting the discoveries of philosophy to their apprehension. But a new edition has long been wanted, which should contain the numerous discoveries made since the time when the book was written. This want has been supplied by a writer every way equal to the task, and the public has to thank M. Desdouits for the numerous additions and improvements which he has made.

Atlas méthodique des cahiers d'histoire naturelle, ou Introduction à toutes les Zoologies. 2 francs, 50 c. Par M. Achille Comte. This Atlas is illustrated by upwards of one-hundred and fifty wood cuts; and the principles of the writer are deserving much praise, and we are happy to find that his work has been adopted in several houses of religious education.

Nouveau Manuel du Chrétien; et Elévations de l'âme vers Dieu, (1 franc 50c. each), will meet with a favourable reception on the part of those, who know that it is translated from the German of the confessor Archbishop of Cologne, Monsignor Droste de Vischering.

POETRY AND ART.

Hymnes sacrées. 1 vol. 8vo. 7 francs 50c. Gladly do we hail this new tribute of the genius and poetical talents of M. Turquéty, to religion and piety. It would be difficult to point out any of these beautiful poems as more worthy of meditation than the rest; but we

may particularize those upon Our Lady, and her festivals, as favourable specimens of the lofty and tender sentiment that pervades the writings of M. Turquéty. M. Berlioz has set some of these odes to music. We regret that our limits do not allow us to insert a few of the *hymns* that we had marked; but the whole volume will amply repay perusal.

Le Lys d'Israel, (2 vols. 8vo. 15 francs) by the author of *L'Ame Exilée,* is another proof, if any were wanting, of the improvement in poetical taste, which induces the poets of our times to seek inspiration in themes, drawn from the Scripture history, or the saints and heroes of religion. To the same class belong the following works.

Les Captifs, ou la foi sauvée en Israel, 1 vol. 8vo. 7 francs 50c. by M. Delavault. The story is connected with the history of Tobias and Sara, and their descendants, and is adorned with descriptions of the rich and poetic countries, which were the scenes of the actions described.

Noel, by M. Michel Couvelaire, although written in prose, is of that poetic cast of thought and expression which has become so fashionable in France, since the publication of the *Génie du Christianisme.*

Reflets de Bretagne is another of those poems, which have been written amid the poetical scenery of Bretagne, and the descriptions are tinged by the soft melancholy of the season of autumn and the country in which they were composed.

Heures de Poesie, (1 vol. 8vo.) by M. de Blossac, is a collection of short poems, distinguished by that charm of expression and depth of feeling, which mark the productions of M. Turquéty, and we trust that the reception of this first attempt of his imitator, will encourage him to proceed in the career which he has so happily commenced.

L'Imitation de Jésus-Christ traduite en vers. Although we are not very sure of the expediency of attempting to clothe the beautiful and energetic thoughts of the *Following of Christ* in the language of poetry, we are compelled to allow, that M. Sapinaud has generally been faithful to his original, and has succeeded well in many parts of his very difficult undertaking.

Two other works are upon our list, the *Voyage de La Trappe à Rome,* by the Abbé de Géramb, (1 vol. 8vo. 7 francs 50c.) and *Du Vandalisme et du Catholisme dans l'Art,* by the Count de Montalembert, of which we shall be glad to have an opportunity to speak more at length.

MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

ROME.—On the 30th of November last, a secret consistory was held at the Vatican, to receive the solemn resignation of Cardinal Odescalchi, who has renounced his rank and dignities to enter the Society of Jesus. His holiness mentioned, in his allocation to the Sacred College, the earnest prayers addressed to him by his eminence to obtain his consent, and the regret which he felt at being obliged at length to yield to his petition. Cardinal Odescalchi belongs to one of the first families in Germany and Italy, and has filled some of the most important offices in the Church. He was, at the time of his resignation, cardinal-bishop of Sabina; one of the six suburban dioceses; vicar-general of his holiness, and administrator of the diocese of Rome; archpriest of Sta Maria Maggiore; grand prior of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, at Rome; prefect of two congregations of cardinals, and member of ten others; protector of the Austrian nation, of six religious orders, and of sixty congregations, churches, monasteries, and cities. Monsignor Cadolini presented his cardinal's hat to the pope, who, after conferring with the cardinals, received it; and then proceeded to create another cardinal in his place, as is customary in such circumstances. Upon the same day his holiness addressed to him a brief, allowing his resignation, but expressing his sorrow at it, and recommending himself to his prayers. He is now in the noviciate of the Society of Jesus, at Verona. Cardinal Della Porta Rodiani has been appointed vicar-general of Rome in his stead, and cardinal Lambruschini has succeeded him as grand prior of the knights of St. John.

Upon the 10th of December his holiness held a secret consistory at the Vatican, in which he declared his desire of proceeding to the canonization of the following persons: B. Alphonsus Liguori, founder of the Redemptorists; B. Francis de Girolamo, priest of the Society of Jesus; B. John Joseph of the Cross, of the order of St. Peter of Alcantara; B. Pacificus of San Severino, of the Reformed Minors; B. Veronica Giuliani, abbess of the Capuchinesses of Città di Castello. The canonization took place on the 26th of May. The lives of the above-named holy persons are just published.

On St. Stephen's day, a Latin discourse, in honour of the glorious protomartyr, was delivered before the pope and cardinals, in the Sixtine chapel, by Mr. Roskell, of the English college.

During the octave of the epiphany, a series of sermons, on behalf of the Institution for the Propagation of the Faith, was delivered in the church of S. Silvestro in Capite. An Italian sermon was preached in the morning by F. Ryllo, S. J.; and in the evening by F. Ventura, of the Theatines. Masses, according to the rites of various oriental churches, were celebrated in the course of each morning. On the four first days, English sermons were delivered by the Rev. Dr. Wiseman, F. Hughes, O. S. F., and the Rev.

Messrs. M'Gill and Kyan; and on the four last, Monseigneur Forbin Janson, bishop of Nancy, preached in French.

On the 1st of December last, Mr. Vincent Gandolfi was presented by Monsignor Acton to his holiness, when Mr. Gandolfi delivered a gold medal, with which he was charged by the president of Oscott College, together with an engraving of the interior of the chapel, which had been framed for the occasion. His holiness received Mr. Gandolfi most cordially, in a private room adjoining the library of the Vatican, made him sit down, and conversed with him for more than half-an-hour. He admired the workmanship of the medal, which he said should be a model for all future medals struck in the Roman states. We believe that his holiness referred to the circumstance of the medal exhibiting the exterior and interior of the building on its obverse and reverse. His holiness appeared exceedingly pleased with this testimonial of respect and filial attachment to the holy see, and expressed much pleasure and satisfaction to hear of the flourishing state of St. Mary's College. On the obverse of the medal is a front view of the college, round which are the words, *Collegium Sanctæ Mariæ de Oscott,* and below, *Ob extructum Seminarium, et Ecclesiam Dedicatam. Anno Salutis* 1838. On the reverse is the interior view of the altar and sacristy, on either side of which appear the words, *Virgini Deiparæ.* The medal was struck by Messrs. Hardman and Co., Birmingham, and is a beautiful specimen of art.

A solemn dirge was performed on the 9th of February, in the church of Santa Martina, for the souls of deceased artists; and a funeral oration, in Italian, was recited by the Rev. Dr. Wiseman.

On the 18th of February a public consistory was held, for the elevation of Monsignor Soglia, the pope's almoner, and Monsignor Tosti, the treasurer, to the rank of cardinals. In the evening the usual rejoicings were celebrated throughout the city.

His holiness has been pleased to confer the order of St. Gregory upon M. Abadie, the celebrated traveller, and his brother, who is at present in Abyssinia.

SARDINIA.—The king of Sardinia has bestowed upon the fathers of the Society of Jesus at Turin, the noble palace formerly occupied by the late queen, Maria Teresa, for the establishment of a college.

A church, built in consequence of a vow made during the cholera at Racconiggi, one of the summer residences of the royal family, has been solemnly dedicated to Our Lady by the archbishop of Turin.

BAVARIA.—The king has addressed letters of nobility to professor Görres, and has conferred upon him the order of Civil Merit, together with a pension to be held in reversion by his son.

The same pious monarch has transmitted 20,000 francs to the archbishop of Munich to form a fund, the interest of which is to be applied to the use of the ecclesiastics at Jerusalem.

PRUSSIA.—In spite of the violent treatment of the archbishops of

Cologne and Posen, the bishop of Breslau, who was considered the support of the court party among Catholics, has followed the example of his brethren, and signified his adhesion to the rules of the holy see respecting mixed marriages.

ASIA.

China.—Two missionaries, of the congregation of St. Lazarus, embarked for China on the 6th of March.

Tonkin.—An edifying account has been published at Rome of the martyrdom of two Christians: Father John Charles Cornay, of Poictiers, put to death by the government of Tonquin, on the 20th of September, 1837, at the age of twenty-nine years; and of a native catechist, Francis Câu, who was strangled, and afterwards beheaded, upon the 20th of November, 1837, at the age of thirty-four. The narrative of his examination and martyrdom recalls to mind the acts of the ancient martyrs, whom he so closely imitated, both in his constancy and death.—*(See Annals of the Prop. of the Faith, March,* 1839.*)*

Persia.—We extract the following account of the conversion from Nestorianism of an entire people, from a letter from Monsignor di Giaccobbe, archbishop of Hadirbegian, who has been appointed patriarch since the time at which his letter is dated (6th of January, 1839). "Having lately provided myself with abundant succours, I was able during the past year to proceed to the mission of Ormia. With the grace of God, fifty-one souls were in a short time converted during my stay, and others have been converted since that time. On that occasion Mar. Goriel, archbishop of Ardisciaj, promised to be converted, with all his diocese, consisting of five thousand souls, and I promised to build them a church; but I intend further to obtain for him a yearly pension of forty tomauns (about £22 sterling). We agreed, therefore, that he should come to Salmast to make his profession of faith, but he has not yet come, but he has sent me a paper, signed by him, on which I am to write the terms of the profession. Meanwhile, he goes about his diocese telling all his flock that they must confess to the Catholic priests, if they wish to be saved, and he sends Catholic priests to baptize the children.

An advertisement, of considerable length, in the *Sydney Herald* of the 16th of November last, addressed to the Roman Catholics of New South Wales, announces, that a new weekly newspaper, to be called *The Australasian Reporter, and Roman Catholic Guardian of New South Wales*, is on the eve of making its appearance. The advertisement is exceedingly well penned, and enters very fully into the reasons which suggest the propriety of this new publication. The principal one appears to be the "cruel and persevering spirit of persecution by the press," which has been increasing in malignity for some years past, doubtless because our strength in those parts has been for that time greatly increasing too. Loyalty to the queen, and attachment to the laws, with the advocacy of "rational prin-

ciples of government and legislation, be they Whig or Tory," will be the chief characteristics of the political portion of the journal. The religious department will occupy itself with the diffusion of spiritual knowledge; the more essential in that colony, from the scattered nature of the population; that thus those Catholics who are "too distant to hear the voice of their pastors, in defending their doctrines against the attacks of their opponents, may yet have a chance of instruction through their press." A prospectus, it is added, is in the course of publication.

We close the present number of the *Dublin Review* with a new appeal to the well-tried charity of our readers.

Within the last few days, M. le Chanoine Duvillard, a distinguished clergyman of the diocese of Lausanne and Geneva, has arrived in England, bearing the powerful recommendation of his venerable bishop, Mgr. Pierre Tobie, and charged to make an earnest application to British charity, on behalf of a mission peculiarly dear to his lordship's heart. Our readers are doubtless aware, that in 1812 the free exercise of Catholic worship in the Canton de Vaud was first restored under certain "securities," and that it was not till 1825 that the erection of chapels and schools was suffered by law; since this last period, the exceeding poverty of the faithful few has been the chief obstacle to that progress which, notwithstanding, the ancient faith has made in every parish where a priest has been able to establish himself. In 1826, a year after the permission to build churches was conceded, the foundation of one was laid at Lausanne; it has been since completed, in a bold and massive architecture, from the pious munificence of the late baroness D'Olcah, its principal benefactress, assisted, too, by the slender means of the impoverished few, who still retained the traditions of their fathers. What is the result? There was then scarcely a Catholic within its precincts; now the church is crowded with the faithful. Of these some are foreigners, but by far the greater part is composed of neophytes. We ourselves have assisted at their worship, and witnessed with delight their multitude. Besides Lausanne, churches have been built, or are building, at Vevey, Nyon, Yverdun, Lachaudefont, and Bauttens, in the same canton, and in every case by voluntary subscription. 'In none of these places had mass been heard, from the establishment of Calvinism in the province, down to the Act of Toleration in 1812. And still the inferiority, in wealth as in numbers, of the Catholics, (who, compared even to the Protestants of all the diocese at once, average scarcely more than a third of the population), opposes great difficulties in the way of a satisfactory completion of these holy undertakings. This fact acquires a new importance from the circumstance, that one of the conditions on which their emancipation was granted, was that none of their priests, chapels, or schools, should ever become chargeable to the state for want of a proper provision. The manner in which this seemingly harmless stipulation

operates, may be best understood by a single example. In Vevey, eighty Catholic children and upwards are obliged, by the municipal authorities, to frequent the Protestant schools so long as their own remains unprovided for. The debt of 30,000 francs, which encumbers their new and beautiful church, and threatens even to deprive them of it, debars the Catholics of Vevey from the hope that unassisted by others they will ever be able to realize their fond aspirations for the establishment of a Catholic school within their city. The other towns we have named are similarly situated. In this distressing difficulty, the excellent bishop of the diocese has charged others with the painful task of soliciting the alms of the faithful in Italy and elsewhere, on behalf of the other parishes already mentioned; and M. Duvillard with that of asking our own for Lausanne and Vevey, and more especially for Vevey. When so much has been done by our Swiss brethren to make their charming country as spiritually desirable to British Catholics as it too well has been to our Protestant countrymen, can we refuse to listen to their humble demands, or meet them with the sentiments of a dwarfed nationality? Subscriptions will be thankfully received by the Rev. Dr. Baldacconi, of the Sardinian Chapel; M. C. Chanoine Duvillard, of 30, Duke-street, Bloomsbury; and Messrs. Wright and Co. 6, Henrietta-street, Covent-garden. The charitable donors are at the same time requested to permit their names to accompany their contributions, that these may be preserved in perpetuity in the archives of Vevey-church, among those of its other generous benefactors. Thus they will share in the benefits of the solemn office, which, on the 8th December, the day after the anniversary of the church's consecration, is, and will be, annually offered in perpetuity for all its benefactors living and dead.

END OF VOL. VI.

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TO THE

SIXTH VOLUME OF THE DUBLIN REVIEW.

ERRATA.

Page 36, four lines from the bottom, *for* "Germany and the revolution," *read* "Europe and the revolution."
—— 41, line 18, *for* "dignitaries," *read* "dignities"
—— 53, line 22, *for* "theoretic," *read* "theocratic."
—— 63, line 6, *for* "unchained," *read* "chained."
—— 68, line 3, *for* "martyrdom," *read* "mysticism."
—— 74, line 1, *omit* "political."